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ART IN AMERICA

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FIG. I. TITIAN: MADONNA IN GLORY
Duveen Brothers, New York



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AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE
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FORGOTTEN SPLENDOR IN TITIAN'S TREASURY

BY WILLIAM SUIDA
New York City

Among Titian's extraordinary gifts his importance as a Madonna painter is in no way sufficiently appreciated, not even sufficiently known. World-famous works, such as the *Assumption*, the *Pesaro Madonna*, the *Vierge au Lapin*, the *Mond Madonna*, astonishing in their variety as well as in their perfection, are connected with each other by a surprisingly large number of less-known but no less beautiful works. Their number is greater than the critics in general admit. These are not new discoveries — with very few exceptions, Titian's Madonnas have retained the name of their illustrious author all through the centuries; contemporaries have admired and described them; the greatest collectors of all epochs preserved them in their galleries; they have been reproduced in engravings and listed in old catalogues.

It was the work of the so-called "criticism" of the second half of the XIXth century which interrupted the tradition. Professing to be enlightened by higher connoisseurship than previous generations, they frequently substituted some pupil's name for that of the master, or even merely added "School" or "Workshop," thus destroying the former admiration and repu-

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tation. No one would deny the value and necessity of sound criticism and careful examination of each work of art. On the contrary, it is the duty of every conscientious research to thoroughly familiarize itself not only with the works of the great masters but also with the personal peculiarities, merits and limits of those smaller talents who make up the following of a great master. Just this was so sorely lacking in the XIXth century. To give only one notorious example, I would recall the dilettant levity with which the works of Paolo Veronese were variously ascribed to Zelotti, Fasolo, Montemezzano, Badile, etc., artists of whose personal characteristics the critics concerned had not the least idea. From famous old galleries masterworks, considered to be of inferior quality or not by the master's hand, were removed, and it is only today in America that they are once more appreciated at their true worth, as for instance, Paolo Veronese's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, formerly in the Munich Pinacotek, now in the Sarasota Museum.

With secondary artists it may be possible to identify their works by comparing obvious analogies, repetitions of distinctive peculiarities, etc.; but great masters will again and again astound precisely by virtue of their diversity of invention and treatment. Thus Titian's works show the greatest variety in spiritual content and in technique. They are as fascinating in formal beauty as in spiritual depth.

The three Madonna pictures which I shall later discuss in detail have always borne the name of Titian, yet have hitherto been disregarded by the special research on that master.

The first, in chronological order the earliest, is described in the catalogue of King Charles I of England¹:

Done by Titian "The picture of our Lady and Christ, with Joseph leaning with his right hand upon a hill, whereby a landskip is painted, where afar off one is catching a young horse in the fields, containing three intire figures half so big as the life, in a carved gilded wooden frame." 2 f. 11 x 5 f. 6.

Some years ago when I published my monograph on Titian, I described this picture (p. 14) but was only able to reproduce a smaller, similar picture in the possession of the Marquess of Bath (pl. XVII). The history of this example can be traced back to the Collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels and later in Vienna. The larger picture, formerly in the Collection of King Charles I of England, is now in a private collection

¹*A Catalogue and Description of King Charles the First's Capital Collection of Pictures, etc.*, now first published from an original manuscript in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford and transcribed by Mr. Vertue, London, MDCCCLVII, page 99, No. 3.

in Italy (Fig. 2). It is probably identical with the one seen by Vasari in the house of Messer Andrea Loredano in Venice which he described as an early work, painted by Titian immediately following the frescoes on the outside wall of the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (painted 1506-1508).²

It affords us renewed opportunity to consider the questions concerning the artistic development of the young Titian which I already raised years ago. The most striking element in the composition is the absence of any relationship — which we would expect — with Bellini and Giorgione. To neither artist is here a closer connection; rather, Titian's picture shows a clear break with the Venetian tradition. On the other hand, in the figure of the Madonna another relationship is indisputably evident; this figure is a free adaptation of Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna with St. Anne*. We do not know how Titian became acquainted with this famous composition; it is only certain that since its execution in 1501 in Florence it has created the greatest impression on all artistic circles. It goes without saying that Titian made use of the Leonardesque motive with sovereign freedom.

The idea of half-concealing the Child's little head behind the Mother and only allowing one shining little eye to gaze out at the spectator is without parallel. The fundamental factor in the composition is that Titian abandoned the contemplative coöordination of the figures, in accordance with the Venetian tradition, replacing in its stead a coöperation of the figures united in a common function. Titian divined the deepest signification of Leonardo's innovation in the art of composition and further developed it. A superficial resemblance to some of Leonardo's compositions is comparatively rare in Titian's works; nevertheless, it is not difficult to recognize that Leonardo's *Madonna Litta* led the way to Titian's *Bache Madonna*; that the motive of the *Madonna of the Rocks* underlies the *Madonna with St. Catherine* in the National Gallery; that Leonardo's *Madonna with St. Anne*, as well as the *Madonna Before a Castle*, echo in Titian's *Sacre Conversazioni* in Bridgewater House and Glasgow.

The second important and interesting element in the *Holy Family* before

²Vasari (ed. Milanesi) *Le Vite* VII, p. 429: "Dopo la quale opera (gli affreschi nella facciata del Fondaco dei Tedeschi) fece un quadro grande di figure simili al vivo, che oggi è nella sala di messer Andrea Loredano che sta da San Marcuola; nel qual quadro è dipinta la Nostra Donna che va in Egitto, in mezzo a una gran boscaglia e certi paesi molto ben fatti, per aver dato Tiziano molti mesi opera a fare simili cose, e tenuto per ciò in casa alcuni tedeschi, eccellenti pittori di paesi e verzure. Similmente nel bosco di detto quadro fece molti animali, i quali ritrasse dal vivo, e sono veramente naturali e quasi vivi."

The fact that Vasari's somewhat vague description does not correspond exactly to our picture, does not exclude the probability that this is the picture he meant. Milanesi connected Vasari's text with *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, a later composition existing in many variants, the best in the Louvre in Paris, which is evidently an error.

us is the landscape — undulating hilly country from which earthy summits emerge with overhanging edges, trees and coppices. The branches are delineated in soft, swinging curves against the lighter sky; in the foreground, isolated large plants or bushes are to be seen. It is a very unusual and singular landscape, similar to those in the Padua frescoes. This picture of the *Holy Family* may have been executed somewhat earlier — that is, before 1511, probably in the years 1509-1510. The isolated living group of a youth leading a horse by the bridle in the center of the landscape corresponds to the practices which we know from the early works of Titian. The same characteristics in the landscape are to be found in all his early works. To this group also belong the two small pictures, *The Myth of Eurydice*³ in Bergamo and the *St. Hubert* in a private collection (see my book pl. CCCIV and CCCV). Shortly after 1511 there is a marked change in the character of Titian's landscapes, so that the early group is plainly distinguishable from the later ones. Vasari's remark that some German landscape painter collaborated with Titian in his early period merits more attention than hitherto has been given to it. As a matter of fact, Titian's early landscapes differ entirely from the Venetian tradition, and find their next parallel in Albrecht Dürer's work.

The second Madonna composition in the Ambrosiana, Milan (Fig. 3), is very closely connected with the two well-known pictures in Vienna and Paris (see my book pl. LXXXIV, A and B). Mary has the Child lying on her lap, St. John the Baptist and St. Cecilia advance from the right. Especially the last-named, extremely lovely figure, enriches our knowledge of the master, and reveals also a perhaps unconscious contact with Bellini (*Madonna with St. Catherine and the Magdalen* in the Academy, Venice). The Ambrosiana picture, listed as an original by Titian in *Atto di Donazione*, the deed of gift of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, dated 1618, nevertheless has hitherto been overlooked by the research. It is now time to become aware of this valuable possession. The Ambrosiana also possesses a slightly later copy of the same composition.

More astonishing is the third Madonna composition; it is the latest in time of execution and presents entirely new spiritual and artistic problems (Fig. 1). Little St. John, hastening toward his playmate, has halted in his quick steps and gazes with wondering eyes on the apparition before him; the Infant Christ, conscious of His prophetic mission, stands on the knee of His Mother who, as Theotokos, strikes a solemn attitude. The radiant

³The scene represents Aristaeus following Eurydice who, while fleeing from him, is bitten by a snake and dies.



FIG. 1A. TITIAN: DETAIL OF MADONNA IN GLORY
Duveen Brothers, New York



FIG. 1B. TITIAN: DETAIL OF MADONNA IN GLORY
Duveen Brothers, New York



FIG. 2. TITIAN: REST ON THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT
Private Collection, Italy. Formerly Gallery of King Charles I



FIG. 3. TITIAN: MADONNA AND CHILD WITH ST. CECILIA AND JOHN THE BAPTIST
Ambrosiana, Milan



FIG. 4. DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER: COPY OF TITIAN'S RAPE OF EUROPA
The Art Institute of Chicago



FIG. 5. DAVID TENIERS THE YOUNGER: COPY OF RAPE OF EUROPA ATTRIBUTED TO GIORGIONE
The Art Institute of Chicago

FIG. 6. TITIAN: MYTHOLOGICAL SKETCHES (pen drawing on paper)
Private Collection, U. S. A.

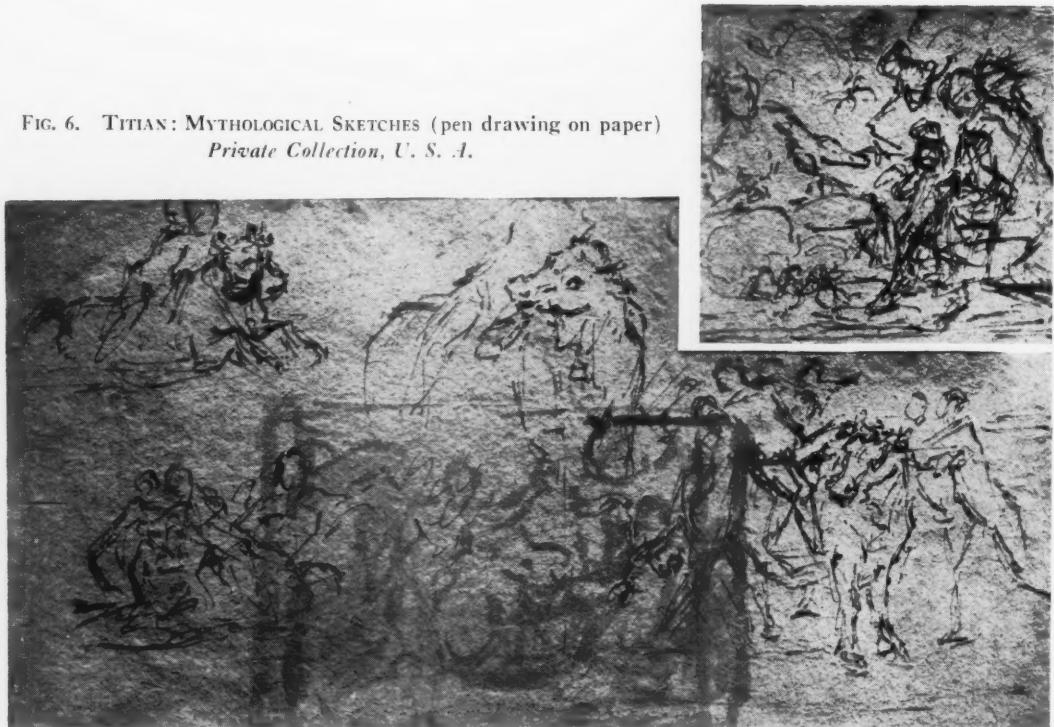


FIG. 7. FLEMISH PAINTER OF THE XVII CENTURY: THE RAPE OF EUROPA (Variant after Titian)
John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida

gloriole of light which envelops both figures condenses itself into numerous little angel heads.⁴ The whole is far remote from things earthly. Mother and Child appear as a vision, a mystical symbol. In the same manner, by a gloriole of angels, Titian has characterized the visionary, the celestial, in the *Assumption*, the *Gloria*, the Serravalle and Medole altarpieces.⁵

The *Madonna in Glory* or *Vision of Little St. John* comes at the end of a long series of Madonna representations in which Titian has glorified idyllic scenes from the lives of the Holy Family in beauty of form and luminosity of coloring. They were, so to speak, religious genre pictures, whether little St. John brings fruits to his playmate or St. Catherine caresses the Infant Christ, whether Mary ceremoniously receives the saints, whether a shepherd or a donor sinks to his knees — all took place in delightful summer landscapes or in spacious halls, in warmly human though festive surroundings. In the picture under discussion, Titian abandons all this and opens the way which led to the magnificent Madonnas in Munich and the Albertini Collection (see my book pl. CCLXXIV and CCLXXVII), compositions in which halos of light, or rays of light bursting through the clouds, symbolize the divine import of the subject.

Our *Madonna in Glory* was probably painted about 1540. Isolated points of resemblance are to be found in the Louvre full-length picture, which represents the Virgin Mary with the Child, St. Catherine and little St. John (see my book pl. LXXXI), especially in the attitude of the Child. There, however, He is childishly natural and endearing, as yet wholly without that prophetic, grave trait which is noticeable in our picture.

The painting was formerly in the Imperial Hermitage Gallery in St. Petersburg. In 1861 it was assigned by the Czar Alexander II to the Rumianzoff Museum in Moscow, in 1929 it was sold by order of the Soviet régime, and is now the property of Duveen Bros., Inc., in New York. That the dark monochrome background concealed a gloriole of angels was quite unknown until recently when the picture was cleaned. The execution of this picture shows some very beautiful qualities. Among so many exquisite rarities from Titian's brush, the hands of the Infant Christ and the hairy garment of St. John, for example, are especially noteworthy.

⁴On canvas, 38½ x 32 inches.

⁵The motive, in a more severe form, was familiar to the late Gothic art in the first half of the XVth century; abandoned by the naturalism of the later Quattrocento, it has been employed again, under Titian's influence by Tintoretto.

There exists, in an old engraving, the trace of another similar version of this composition, with the Infant Christ in a different attitude and without the Angel heads. On the example of this engraving, preserved in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in handwriting are to be found the words: "The original in the Justiani Palace, Rome."

II

When Titian's representation of the myth of Europa is referred to, one always thinks only of the world-famous painting commissioned by King Philip II of Spain, which by intricate ways reached the Isabella Gardner Museum in Boston, and which in its grandiose conception and good state of preservation belongs to the most superb wonder-works of Titian's art which we possess.

There existed, however, another version of the same subject by Titian's hand, formerly in the incomparable collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in Brussels, later in Vienna, described in his inventory⁶ and reproduced in a small engraving by Quirinus Boel, which was intended for the *Theatrum Pictorium*. The picture has disappeared and apparently no longer exists. Therefore, the most important record of this work is a small copy by David Teniers, now in the Chicago Art Institute (Fig. 4), which served as a model for Q. Boel's engraving. Such copies by Teniers, of which quite a considerable number still exist, deserve the greatest admiration by reason of their pictorial skill and accuracy. Their importance for us is all the greater when the model is destroyed.

Europa has been carried far out to sea by Jupiter in the disguise of a bull. The lamentations of her companions follow her. Two cattle are grazing on the shore, an agitated silhouette of rugged cliffs and embedded valleys.

The two versions of Europa resemble each other, yet the artist had in mind different objects. The large composition is dominated by the main group of figures, the smaller by the landscape. As a representation of a landscape this picture must have ranked among the most remarkable ever painted by Titian. By chance, in another American museum, The John and Mabel Ringling Museum in Sarasota, Florida, a record has been preserved which shows that a Flemish painter of the XVIIth century received an extraordinarily vivid impression of Titian's smaller version (Fig. 7). Without being an exact copy, although adhering closely to the motive, this unknown Fleming has transformed the rugged cliffs in Titian's model into jagged, stony rocks, in the manner of the older Flemish painters, and placed Northern fir-trees on Titian's bare rocky slopes, otherwise retaining the essential lines of the composition.

⁶No. 214: "Ein Stuckh von Ohefarbe auf Leinwath und auf Holcz gepabt, warin die Europa auf einem weissen Oxen durch das Meer schwimbt, auf der Seithen drey Personen, die darüber lamentieren, darbey zwey Khüe stehen. In einer gantz vergulten Ramen mit Oxenaugen, hock 4½ Spann vnd 5½ Spann braidt. Vom Titiano Original." *Inventar der Kunstsammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Oesterreich, Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Kaiserhauses I*, Wien 1883, II. Theil p. XCVIII.

The group of maidens and cattle at the left would seem to indicate that, in addition to Titian's lost *Europa*, the Flemish artist was familiar with another version of the same subject, formerly also in the collection of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm under the name of Giorgione (inventory No. 95). Of this picture, likewise disappeared, a small copy by the hand of David Teniers, also in the Chicago Art Institute (Fig. 5), is the best record we have.⁷

A small pen drawing (Fig. 6) in an American private collection gives rise to the supposition that Titian had the idea of depicting several incidents from the *Europa* myth in pictures. In this sketch one sees at upper left the bull swimming through the waves with the king's beautiful daughter on his back, while beside it is the scene where the princess, surrounded by her maidens, playfully mounts the bull, that is — the same scene which in Paolo Veronese's compositionally different representation later became world-famous. There are on the same piece of paper some other sketches of mythological scenes not referring to the *Europa* mythos and not yet interpreted: one similar to the *Punishment of Actæon* in the Earl of Harewood's collection, another with Venus reclining on the clouds, with her doves and a kneeling figure recalling the *Religion* in the Prado.

In my opinion, the smaller version by Titian is the later one. Concerning the Boston picture we know that it was executed in 1561-1562. In a letter dated "26. April 1562," Titian informs King Philip of its dispatch. The smaller version, presumably painted about 1562-1565, is mentioned for the first time in the inventory of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm's Collection. I remember to have seen on the market in London in 1932 a picture of the same subject. It was evidently painted under Titian's influence, most probably by the Ferrarese Garofolo.

It is worth mentioning that Rembrandt's *Rape of Europa*, signed and dated 1632, in the Klotz Collection Pontresina, shows a slight resemblance to Titian's second version (in reverse). As we do not know where Titian's picture was before it came into the possession of the archduke — who formed his collection especially during the years 1646-1656 while governor of the Netherlands — it is impossible to determine how Rembrandt could have acquired knowledge of it.

⁷The Chicago picture was the model for T. van Kessel's engraving in this *Theatrum Pictorium* (Brussels 1650).

A MASTERPIECE OF EARLY CHINESE SCULPTURE

By ALFRED SALMONY
New York City

Osvald Sirén, in his monumental work entitled "Chinese Sculpture," publishes the side-view of a stone statue (vol. IV, pl. 482, New York, 1925) that fails to do justice to the object. He mentions an inscription, engraved on the front of the base below the lotus leaf band, but limits further information to the date, quoted correctly as 687 A. D. In the meantime this sculpture has become the property of Mr. H. Kevorkian, New York. Its artistic qualities, as well as the inscription, justify a reconsideration. Mr. S. H. Han, assistant at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, kindly provided a translation, complicated by the fact that some characters are obliterated. It reads as follows:

Heaven preaches the great doctrine that all is Vanity, and it conveys us along the true road by means of the three vehicles of thought. And Heaven preaches the contemplative life. . . . Thus Heaven makes believers of people. . . . The disciples . . . with great care and devotion, made a tall, erect, full-length statue of Kuan-Yin, in order that the royal family and the sacred dynasty might endure forever, and that the masses might also share in this same happiness.

Recorded on the third day of the third month of the third year of Chui Kung (687 A. D.).

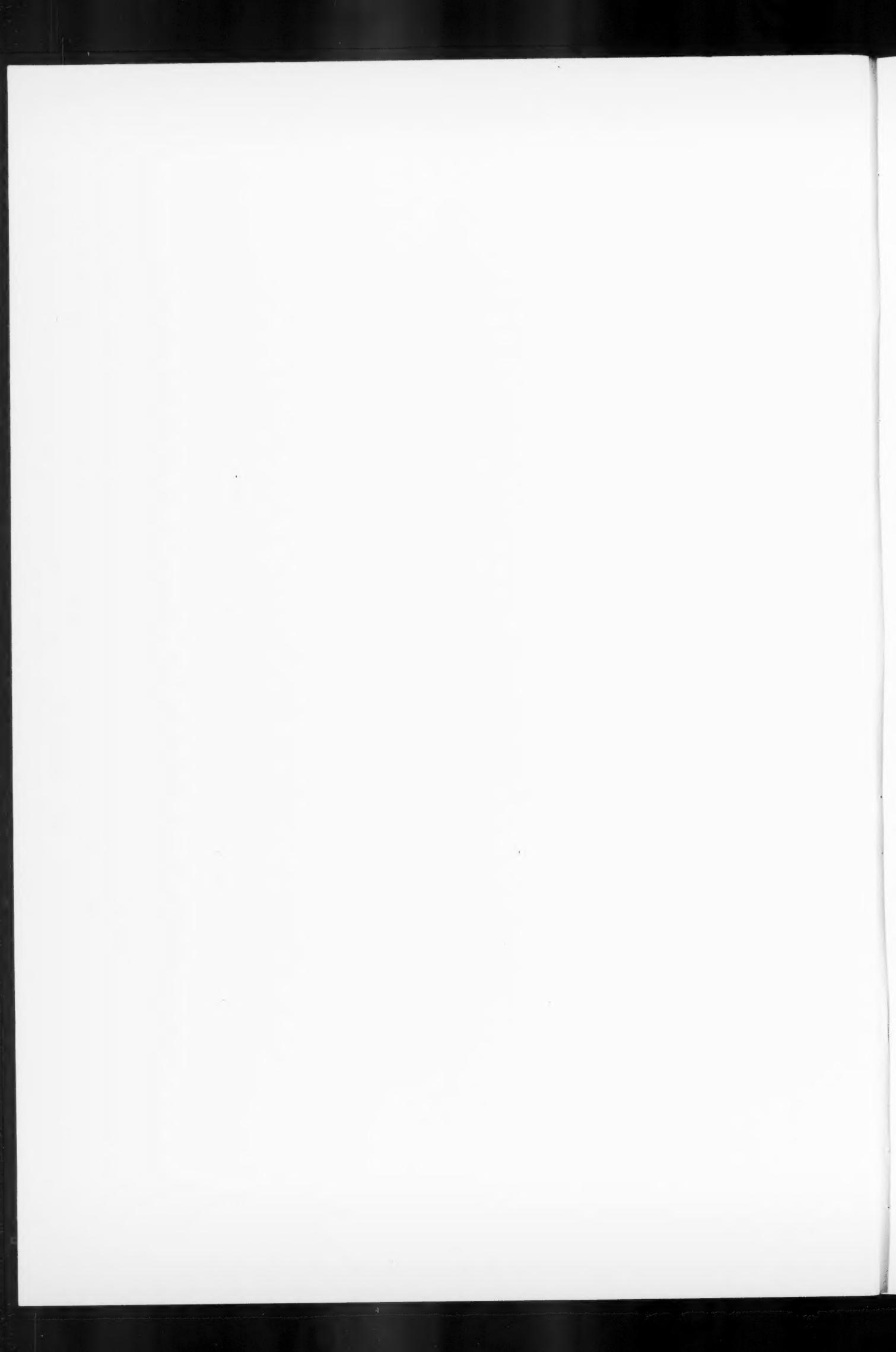
The sculpture itself is in excellent condition, with only the left upper arm and parts of the free hanging scarf missing. The grey limestone preserves some of the ancient polychromy. As the Buddhist pantheon requires for its highest hierarchy, gold covered the fleshy parts, now visible only on spots over a brown gesso. Red, blue and green appear on the garment. With a height of 5 feet 7 inches, this stone statue has a just claim to monumentality.

According to Sirén (op. cit. vol. I, p. 131), the object under consideration entered the W. R. Hearst collection in 1921, accompanied by a report concerning its provenance. This was given as Pai Ma ssu, the "White Horse Temple," near Honan-fu, Province Honan. Sirén includes the statue in the chapter devoted to this province, thus giving some credence to the report. He summarizes Chinese text information about Pai Ma ssu in describing the remaining buildings there (op. cit. vol. I, p. 123): "The temple is said to have been founded to commemorate the legendary introduction of Buddhism by two missionary priests from India in A. D. 57." It is indeed worthwhile to look into the past of the region, since it had been the center of Chinese civilization more than a thousand years before the fictitious date of the



BODHISATTVA OF THE T'ANG PERIOD
Property of H. Kevorkian, New York





temple foundation. There were many capitals with changing names following each other in this limited circumference beginning with Early Western Chou, and culminating in 770 B. C. with the definite establishment of Eastern Chou. The graves near Pai Ma ssu, usually named after the nearby village of Chin ts'un, led to the discovery of the Late Eastern Chou art style (W. C. White, "Tombs of Old Lo-yang," p. 12, Shanghai, 1934). When the second Han dynasty returned to the time-honored site, it received the name of Lo-yang, which applied ever since to all "Eastern" capitals near the Pai Ma ssu. During the troublesome periods of the Three Kingdoms and the Six Dynasties, the rulers of China tried to control their limited empire from other cities. The Sui unifiers and, in uninterrupted sequence, the T'ang emperors of the VII century established their metropolis again in a new Lo-yang near the old one (cp. J. C. Ferguson, "Lo-yang as the National Capital," p. 48, Northern Chinese Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Journal, vol. LXIV, 1933). Thus Pai Ma ssu found itself at the doors of a fervently Buddhist capital that may have considered the tale of the temple's past as a reality calling for sumptuous decoration.

Great fame was accorded to the sanctuary. The Han emperor Ming-ti (57-75 A. D.), credited with the introduction of Buddhism into China, was also named as the patron of the first Buddhist fresco painting in Pai Ma ssu (cf. O. Fischer "Die Chinesische Malerei der Han Dynastie," p. 3, Berlin, 1931). The very name "White Horse Temple" refers to the return of the famous pilgrim Hsüan Tsang to the T'ang capital in 645. The holy man took his precious load of Sanskrit texts from the back of a white steed, on which it had been carried across Central Asia, thus baptizing the depository (cf. B. Laufer "Jade," p. 247, Chicago, 1912).

The information concerning the provenance of our sculpture does not specify the temple itself or the adjoining pagoda; both have survived as later constructions. The temple is reproduced by E. Chavannes ("Mission Archéologique dans la Chine Septentrionale," Plates Tome II, Pl. CCCXXII, No. 945) and the pagoda by the same author (loc. cit. No. 946), followed by many others.

Little has been said about the Buddhist cult buildings that may shelter monumental sculptures. There are types that came from India, together with all the other paraphernalia of Buddhism. One derives from an Indian chaitya, a long hall terminated by an apsis, resembling that in a Christian church, with a sculpture or a group of sculptures where the West places the altar. Although no such building of T'ang or earlier can be found free

standing, its existence is implied by many excavated sanctuaries in Chinese Turkestan and by the magnificent cave of Sok-kul-am in South Eastern Korea (ground plan in A. Eckardt, "History of Korean Art," London, 1929, p. 113). Still existing temples, such as the Pai Ma ssu are square halls, usually with three naves, a creation that has to be considered as a native Chinese product. The arrangement of sculptures inside such buildings can be studied in ancient Japanese monuments, which display full round statues along the walls and mainly on estradas opposite the entrance door. A third type of sanctuary, the pagoda, relates again to India. Although it catered more to the pious individual than to a throng, it placed holy images in the center. Some small examples, as in Shantung province, have preserved their original content.

Since it can be definitely stated that there was a need for monumental sculpture in the full round, most, if not all, of the existing examples in bronze, clay, wood, dry lacquer and stone must come from sanctuaries of the types just described. Among the materials used for their manufacture, stone by itself has little claim for distinction. All Chinese lapidary works serving Buddhism have to find their place between the extremes of handicraft and mass production on one side and experienced artistry on the other. The army of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and minor figures of the pantheon in the hollowed out rock caves of China may accidentally express the feelings that their religion wants to glorify, but at the same time instilling their propaganda of the faith by their very existence. They were considered sources of light in a more than figurative sense.

Next in line stand votive stelæ, connected with the memory and salvation of deceased relatives. Purpose and dedicatory inscriptions make them akin to tombstones of the West, even if they were not placed on or near the grave. Again, the artistic ability of the sculptor was immaterial for the achievement of the commission.

The only kind of Chinese stone sculpture that can aspire to higher honors is the freestanding temple figure. None of the inscribed ones mentions the name of a master, but it would be erroneous to presume that during Wei and especially during the zealous times of T'ang there was no praise for the great sculptors. P. Pelliot has been the first to call attention to ancient texts that celebrate creators of religious sculptures ("Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynasties et des T'ang," p. 56, T'oung Pao, 2 serie, vol. XXII, 1923). In this he has been followed by L. Ashton ("An Introduction to the Study of Chinese Sculpture," p. 77, London, 1924). From these

authors it becomes evident that during T'ang the honors bestowed on the great sculptor were second only to those accorded to the great painter.

Returning to the subject of this study, it remains to be seen to what extent the artistic qualities of the example under discussion befit a sculpture whose inscription dares to mention the royal family and the "sacred dynasty."

Problems of iconography are solved by the inscription, otherwise one would have to be satisfied by calling the figure a Bodhisattva of a rather feminine aspect. As in every T'ang Buddhist monument, the sculptor combines a faithful observation of Indian iconographic regulations with a perfect understanding of the human body and its proportions.

The composition also keeps well in line with the peculiar rhythm that characterizes the period. The strongest accent is provided by the scarf leading from one shoulder to the other and again from the right hand to the left hip. Folds descending over both legs take up the same motive in a minor key. On the back the swinging lines are set further apart.

Although both feet stand on the same level, the body undulates with the left hip and the right shoulder protruding. Even with the part of the scarf broken off that reached from the hand to the base, the right frame still displays a rigid stability that contrasts with the open flexibility of the other side, where the missing upper arm carried a lotus bud to the height of the head. To complete the balance of the sculptural composition one has to presume another moving contour and another rigid frame. It becomes obvious that this Bodhisattva originally was part of a trinity, flanking a sitting Buddha in the center and another figure on the left. There is hardly any votive stela or rock-relief that does not apply the linear scheme indicated to the grouping of the trinity.

Most of the details are in line with common features of the T'ang period. The headdress occurs quite frequently among others at the grottoes at Lung-men, near Lo-yang. They display the parted hair over the forehead with a rosette-shaped jewel, followed by a large chignon curling backwards. The artist took some liberty with the arrangement of chains and pendants on the nude bust. In addition to the strings of beads commonly descending from both shoulders, a central one heads towards the girdle (another example in Sirén, *op. cit.* vol. III, pl. 370B) holding a fan-shaped pendant that seems to indicate a tassel-like arrangement of some fabric with threads terminated by small pearls. The continuation, emanating from underneath the pendant, replaces the string by a braided band, a variation in the construction of the pendant, which also occurs on other examples. At the navel three discs replace the usual large fastener.

The expression of the face can always be considered indicative of the artistic quality of a sculpture. One may find T'ang heads with a benevolent and animated smile, others with dull emptiness. The Kuan Yin from 687 radiates austere serenity without departing from the usual scheme. The rare expression results from the formation of the mouth. T'ang lips lend themselves easily to a smile, since they are small and highly arched. Our sculptor chose a slightly thinner and more silent model. The eyes, too, seem to be at a slight variance with the common type appearing somewhat slanting and narrow. Nevertheless, no Chinese realism interferes with the ideal portrait required for the occasion.

As an object of art, the Bodhisattva from 687 seems worthy of the famous temple. Once before a masterpiece of Chinese stone sculpture received the label Pai Ma ssu. This was the Maitreya now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Sirén, op. cit. vol. II, pl. 112), in very high relief of Wei period. Sirén did not hesitate in describing it to state that it was "found buried in the soil of Pai Ma ssu near Lo-yang" (op. cit. vol. I, p. 29), although he gives no proof for the statement. Only new research and discovery could confirm such second-hand attributions to famous localities. However, in the case of the Kuan Yin described, the inscription and manufacture collaborate to support it.

MYRON'S BRONZE STATUE OF A HEIFER

BY GEORGE W. ELDERKIN
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Among the works of the distinguished Greek sculptor Myron was a bronze statue of a heifer which became so famous that ancient writers of epigrams vied with one another in exaggerated descriptions of its realism. The heifer was so life-like, said one, that it would have lowed if only the sculptor had fashioned vital organs within it. About thirty-five epigrams have survived, some of them by poets who perhaps never saw the statue but who chose it as a subject simply because of its fame. No identifiable copy of this work, which must have been a masterly representation, has survived. In the absence of any statement by an ancient author as to the circumstances which led Myron to cast this bronze, it is generally supposed to have been an example of genre pure and simple. Yet the dedication of the statue on the Athenian acropolis, which was not the proper place for genre statues of

animals in the fifth century, may indicate a special significance. The statue of a bull which was set up on the same acropolis by the Council of the Areopagus was no ordinary offering, but Pausanias did not know its significance.¹

The exact date of Myron's heifer is not known but may have been inspired by an event which occurred in 444-3. In that year Pericles was instrumental in sending out colonists to found Thourion in southern Italy. Among the colonists were both Athenians and Boeotians. The latter had a widely-known tradition that a heifer had appeared to Cadmus, at a Boeotian mountain called Thourion, according to Plutarch, and guided him to the site where he founded the city of Thebes. Cadmus had consulted the oracle at Delphi in an effort to find his sister Europa, who had been stolen by Zeus. The god, assuming the form of a bull, enticed the young maid to climb upon his back, as she was disporting herself with companions on the shore of Phoenicia, and then sped overseas with her to Crete. Subsequently he took his stolen bride to Boeotia and concealed her in a cave in a mountain which the god made especially for the purpose. When Cadmus asked Apollo at Delphi where he could find his sister, the god, instead of answering that question, told him to follow a heifer which he would find after leaving the temple, and to establish a city on the spot where the animal lay down because of weariness. This it did at Thebes and there Cadmus offered the heifer as a sacrifice.

Plutarch, after saying that Cadmus found the heifer at Mt. Thourion, gives as one explanation of that name the Phoenician word *thor*, which he said meant "cow." He made a mistake in gender, for the word in Phoenician meant only "bull." This name Thourion is the same word as the name of the colony Thourion, which Boeotians helped to found. If Plutarch was right in his connection of the name with *thor*, and there is no reason to believe it to be pure fiction², then the famous bronze heifer by Myron could have commemorated the departure of the Periclean colony to Thourion in terms of the heifer which led Cadmus to the site of Thebes. Such dedication was appropriate since some of the colonists were Boeotians, and the acropolis at Athens, as the place of the dedication, was equally appropriate because of the important part played by Pericles in the foundation of Thourion.

Since Cadmus had consulted the oracle as to the whereabouts of Europa, only to be told to follow a heifer, one may conclude with Cook³ that the heifer was simply the bovine form of the maid. Although the determination

¹Pausanias I, 24, 2.

²Cf, however, H. W. Parke, *A History of the Delphic Oracle* (1937) p. 316.

³Zeus I, p. 541.

of a site for a colony with an animal as guide is a common motif in folklore, that fact does not exclude a special version of it. Cook's conjecture is confirmed by the story that Europa was concealed in a cave. A cave was the conventional hiding place for the stolen cattle of Greek mythology. Hermes stole the kine of Apollo and concealed them in a cave, as did Cacus when he filched some of the herd of Hercules. So the stolen Europa, like stolen cattle, was concealed in a cave. Further, the name of Europa seems to indicate her bovine character. It has not been satisfactorily explained.⁴ Its first element, *eur*, is perhaps the same as *ur* — in *urus*, "ox." Its second element, *opa*, is quite generally connected with a Greek word *ops*, meaning "face" or "eye." The name *Eur-opa* would then be a title meaning "ox-face" or "ox-eye," and correspond closely in meaning with the Homeric word *bo-opsis*, "cow-face," a title of Hera, another consort of Zeus. Europa may be compared with Io whom Zeus seduced and then transformed into a white cow. An old Phœnician parallel, unusually appropriate here because Cadmus, according to Herodotus, was a Phœnician⁵, is the myth that "(Baal) loved a heifer in Dbr, a young cow in the fields of Shlmmt . . . she conceived and bore a lad."⁶ It may be that the departure of Europa from Phœnicia is mythology's version of a migration which, like that of the Lydians to Etruria, was dictated by necessity. Phœnicians, or those who later passed as such, may have migrated in quest of pasturage which was abundant in Bœotia, as its name indicates.

Be this as it may, the dedication of Myron's heifer on the acropolis to commemorate the departure of colonists had a precedent in the dedication, a few years earlier on the same acropolis, of a statue of Athena by those Athenians who went out to the island of Lemnos to found a colony. The parallel becomes closer if the heifer of Myron was Europa in bovine form. If the theory here set forth is correct, it follows that the statue was one of the latest works of the master. The date of his death is not known but must be set about the time that the colonists sailed away to Thourion. The bronze heifer was a punning allusion to the name of the colony whose coin-type, consisting of a bull, may be Zeus, the heifer's mate.

⁴For the latest discussion of the name Europa see Persson in Nilsson's *Dragma* (1939) p. 399.

⁵Herodotus II, 49. Cf. Gomme in *JHS* 1913, p. 66.

⁶Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar* (Rome, 1940) sect. 6, 52. Dr. Gordon kindly made this translation available for me before the appearance of his book.

THE APOLLO DRAWING L₇₄₁¹ AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH DÜRER

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In 1925² K. T. Parker published a pen drawing in the Kunsthäus at Zurich, showing a constructed figure signed with the so-called "geschleudert" (scrawled) monogram of Albrecht Dürer.³ He accordingly attributed it to Dürer and ascribed it to the so-called "Apollo group"⁴ which dates from the beginning of the sixteenth century (Fig. 1). This was generally accepted, and Winkler included the drawing as No. 741 in the Lippmann corpus of the drawings by Albrecht Dürer. However, Parker, as well as other writers on the subject, was doubtful as to the place of the figure within the Apollo group⁵, and its weaknesses, such as listlessness and dullness of touch in certain details, were observed especially by its latest critic (F. Winkler in *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, Vol. I, Berlin 1936,

¹The abbreviation L refers to F. Lippmann *Zeichnungen von Albrecht Dürer in Nachbildungen*, Berlin, 1883-1929 (continued by F. Winkler).

²"Eine neugefundene Apollozeichnung Albrecht Dürers," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 248-254.

³Parker himself pointed out that the monogram of the drawing is a later addition, there being a difference between the ink of the drawing and that of the monogram. Probably, as the latest literature on the subject assumes (H. Tietze-E. Tietze-Conrat, *Der junge Dürer*, Augsburg, 1928, p. 343; E. Flechsig, *Albrecht Dürer*, Vol. 2 Berlin, 1931, pp. 48-51; F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, Vol I, Berlin, 1933, pp. XIII-XIV), the "geschleudert" monograms of Albrecht Dürer were added by a later possessor (the Strassburg Chronicler Sebald Bueheler?); this was first assumed by Parker, *Elsässische Handzeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunders*, Freiburg i. B. 1928, p. 32.

⁴The so-called "Apollo group" comprises: the so-called "Aesculapius," L 181; the London Apollo L 233; the Apollo L 179; the Adam of the drawing L 173 and of the engraving B. 1 (both dated 1504) as well as the Adam of the "Albertina" L 475, which postdates the engraving B. 1, as Flechsig (op. cit. p. 197) and H. Tietze-E. Tietze-Conrat (in the *Albertina Catalogue "Die Zeichnungen der deutschen Schulen bis zum Beginn des Klassizismus"*, Vienna, 1933, no. 80) pointed out; the so-called *Bonnat Warrior* L 351.

⁵The name "Apollo group" originates from the supposed connection of the group with the Apollo of the Belvedere (see L. Justi, *Konstruierte Figuren und Köpfe unter den Werken Albrecht Dürers*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 5, 10).

⁶Panofsky (in *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. XLI, 1920, pp. 359-377) places the *Aesculapius* L 181 at the beginning of the group, followed in chronological order by the London Apollo L 233, the Apollo L 179, the Adam.

In "Dürers Stellung zur Antike," *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte des kunsthistorischen Institutes des (österr.) Bundesdenkmalmamtes*, Vol. I, 1, 1921-22, p. 54, he derives the group anew from the Apollo of the Belvedere, emphasizing, however, the additional influence of the cornucopia in Mantegna's engraving B. 20.

Basing himself on this, Parker places the Zurich figure immediately before or after the *Aesculapius*.

H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Der junge Dürer*, no. 20, who also accept Panofsky's arrangement and derivation, place the figure after the *Aesculapius*, that is, between the *Aesculapius* and the London Apollo.

Flechsig, *op. cit.*, Vol II, p. 165, who likewise adheres to the above arrangement of the figures, but denies the derivation of the group from the Apollo of the Belvedere, places the figure after the Apollo L 179, that is, as the last Apollo figure within the group. Winkler, *op. cit.*, p. 185, no. 264 endorses Flechsig's view in this matter.

p. 185) who accordingly raised the question as to whether these parts were traced. He further noted "an unusual number of pentimenti" in the figure.

Parker, in his publication, merely states in a footnote that there exists a study of the same figure among the drawings by Peter Vischer the Younger in the Louvre (Inv. No. 19066) drawn, "like the later proportion drawings by Albrecht Dürer," on both sides of the sheet, and he adds that he considers it a feeble copy of the Zurich drawing. The literature has not gone deeper into the question. In reality the Louvre drawing is by no means a copy of the Zurich drawing, but the Zurich and the Louvre drawings have a common original; namely, a lost drawing by Dürer of about 1512-13.

One side of the Vischer sheet shows, as does the Zurich drawing, the figure of an Apollo holding the sun disk in his raised right and a bow in his lowered left while a quiver filled with arrows is seen under his left arm (Fig. 2). But the Zurich figure has a background of hatchings which mainly follow the contours of the body and are partly covered by tiny hooks, all of which does not appear in Vischer's drawing.

On the other side of Vischer's sheet the figure described above is shown reversed. As an attribute, however, the Apollo has only the sun disk, this time in his left hand; and instead of the bow, he holds in his right an object the meaning of which is not quite clear — it seems to be a rudiment of the bow which appears complete on the other side of the sheet. This figure is set out against a background formed by horizontal parallels (Fig. 6).

Vischer's figure is based, on the whole, upon the same construction which, as Parker pointed out, is scratched in in the Zurich drawing.⁶ The lines are scratched in on the side corresponding to the Zurich drawing and stand out on the other side so that they are distinguishable on both sides of the paper.

Parker's assumption that the Vischer drawing was a copy of the Zurich drawing does not explain the fact that Vischer's drawing appears on both sides of the sheet. Furthermore, the manner of the drawing in the Louvre figures cannot be derived from the Zurich drawing.

That side of the Vischer drawing which iconographically corresponds to the Zurich drawing (i. e., the side with the quiver, Fig. 2) succinctly reproduces the style of completed proportion drawings by Dürer of about

⁶According to Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 249, note 1, the regular lines of his construction chart (*ibid.* p. 250) correspond to the scratched-in lines of the Zurich drawing. The topmost line of the "head-square" which Parker draws with a dotted line and which, therefore, would seem to have been supplied by him is clearly scratched in in the Louvre drawing. I should like to express my thanks to Mrs. M. Czuczka for her comparing Parker's chart with the construction of the Vischer drawing in the original, as well as for her measurements of the Vischer figure which are so important for the following examination.

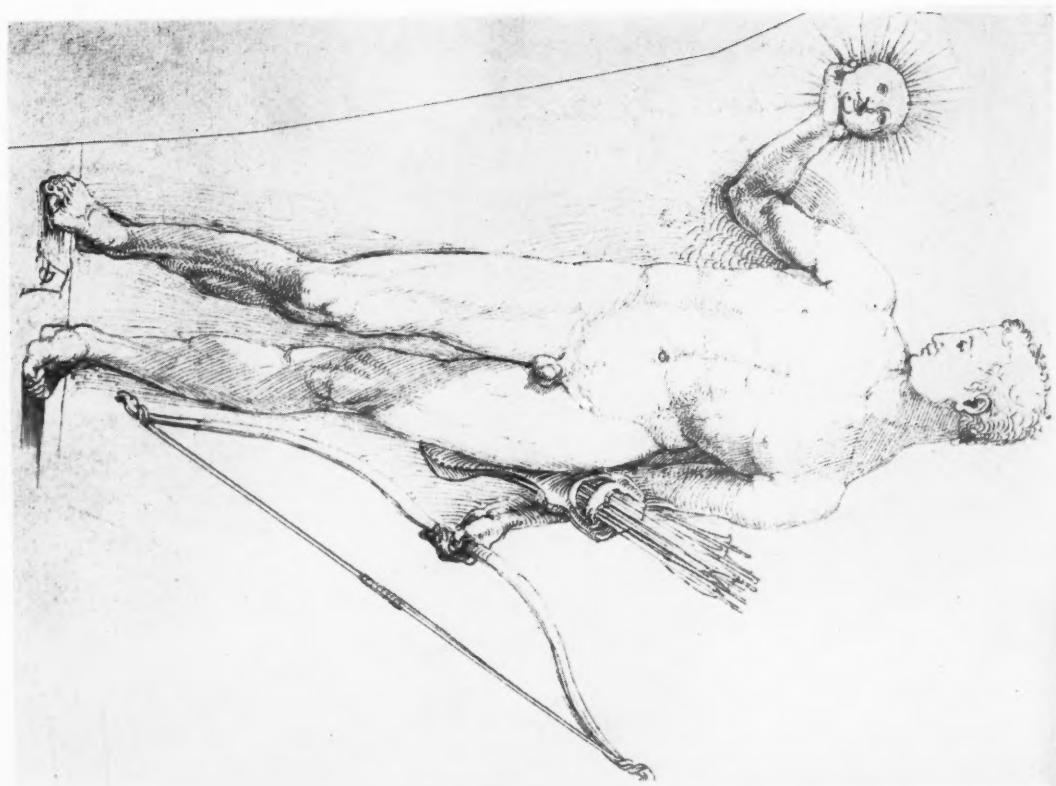


FIG. 1. APOLLO DRAWING L. 741
Kunsthaus, Zurich

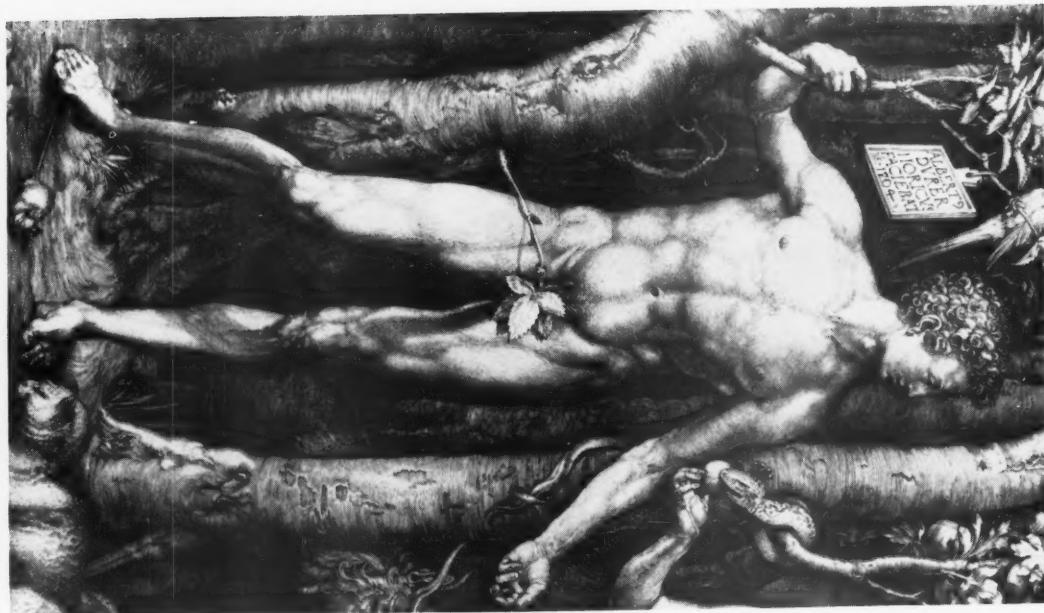


FIG. 5. DÜRER: DETAIL OF ENGRAVING OF ADAM AND EVE, B. I
State Library of Saxony, Dresden

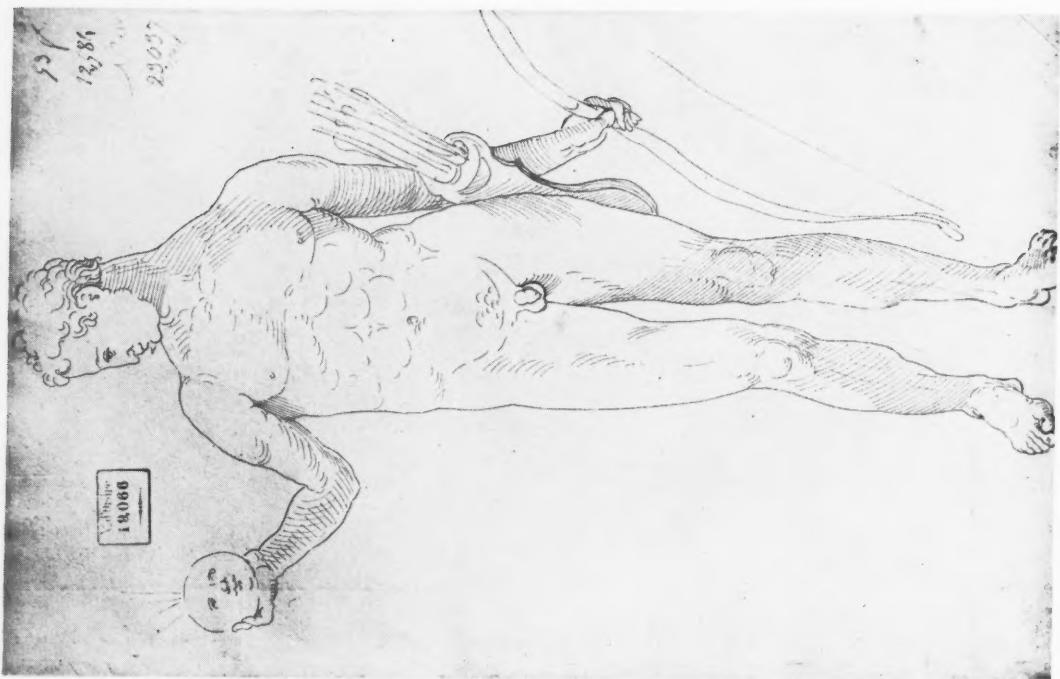


FIG. 2. PETER VISCHER THE YOUNGER: PROPORTION FIGURE
Louvre, Paris

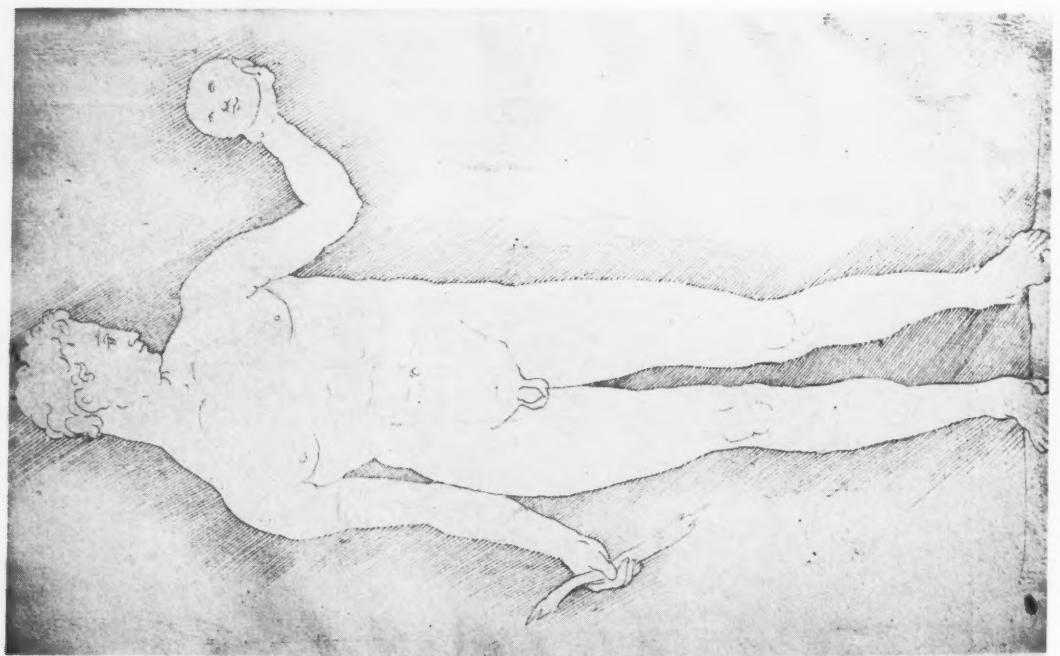


FIG. 6. PETER VISCHER THE YOUNGER: PROPORTION FIGURE
Louvre, Paris

1512-13, as might be illustrated by the traced figures D 12, D 10⁷ (Figs. 3 and 4). There is the same summary reproduction of some parts of the body, which is chiefly modelled by parallel hatchings. The Zurich drawing, on the other hand, shows in some parts of the body a type of modelling reminiscent of Dürer's drawings of 1500-04, particularly of the Apollo group.

If we follow in detail the course of the lines in the Zurich drawing and that in the corresponding side of the Louvre drawing (Figs. 1 and 2), we notice a lack of uniformity in the former. Some of the lines show the same parallelism and abstractness as those in the Louvre drawing, but these are superseded by others which more emphatically stress the structure of the body. The Zurich drawing shows other differences from the Louvre drawing, too, which are distinctly recognizable as corrections of the same model which was copied in the Louvre drawing. Thus the hatching, running in both the Vischer and the Zurich figures from the upper left to the lower right of the free leg, is superseded in the Zurich figure by another kind of hatching stressing the shin-bone, the calf, etc. In the Zurich figure, the outline of the calf supersedes the "common" parallel hatching of the standing leg. The author of the Zurich drawing, when dealing with the figure's lowered arm, not only modelled the upper arm by lines similar to those in the Vischer drawing, but also indicated the bend.

From all this we must conclude that both the Zurich drawing and the corresponding side of the Vischer drawing have a common original, but that the author of the Zurich drawing developed his copy by adding new details. Presumably, however, these alterations of the common original are not entirely of his own invention.

The more emphatic modelling and the different distribution of light and shade in the Zurich figure can be accounted for by the use of the Adam in the engraving B 1 of 1504 (Fig. 5), which gives the final formula of the Apollo group. Compare, for instance, the Zurich figure and the Adam with regard to the modelling of the free leg, the shading of the shin-bone and of the calf, and the rendering of the thigh and of the trunk. The same explanation applies to other peculiarities, such as the above-mentioned "correction" of the lowered arm, or the line separating the toes and the instep of the foot of the standing leg.

The Vischer drawing belongs to a well-known group of constructed figures in the Louvre⁸; the literature dealing with Vischer calls them "tracings"

⁷The abbreviation D refers to R. Bruck, *Das Skizzenbuch von Albrecht Dürer i. d. kgl. öff. Bibliothek zu Dresden*, Strassburg, 1905, the numbers to the pages of this edition.

⁸See Winkler, *Dürerstudien III, Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1932, pp. 69, 71, 89.

from Dürer.⁹ The uncertain and often interrupted course of the lines favors such an opinion. As already mentioned at the beginning of this essay, a similar quality discernible in some parts of the Zurich drawing (profile, left-hand side of the body, hair) induced Winkler to suppose that these parts were traced. In size, the Vischer drawing agrees with that in Zurich.¹⁰ We should, therefore, like to modify Winkler's statement in that sense that the lines of the Zurich figure which "cover" the lines of the Louvre figure, so to speak, are traced from the original. They are, apart from the construction lines, mainly the "original" outlines.

In his essay, *Dürers Dresdner Skizzenbuch*¹¹, Justi has shown the development of the proportion drawings of the Dresden Sketch Book, and in doing so refers to a "retrospective" group of male figures, executed in 1512-13, which in posture and construction freely reverts to the Apollo group.¹²

As Parker has shown, the construction of the Zurich Apollo differs from that of the "Apollo group" in that the fractions which determine the different parts of the body do not refer to the distance between the crown and the heel, as is the case with the Apollo group, but to the distance between the crown and the toes. Furthermore, in the Zurich figure the knee is in the middle of a diagonal running through the standing leg, which links the lowest point of the hip to a point above the heel on the inner side of the leg (below the ankle on the horizontal which cuts the feet); in the figures of the Apollo group, however, this diagonal runs from the lowest point of the hip to a point on the level of the heel which serves as a starting point for the construction of the total length.¹³

The construction of the drawing D 11/12 (Fig. 8), with numerous figure-notes appended by Dürer, differs from that of the Apollo group in a similar way. As is the case with the Zurich Apollo and the double-sided

⁹See S. Meller, *Peter Vischer der Ältere und seine Werkstatt*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 192, 190.

¹⁰The measurements of the construction lines facilitate the comparison: one side of the "breast-square" is 52 millimeters, which is one sixth of the length tip of the toes — crown; the different parts of the body are fraction of this length. The lower width of the hips is 62 millimeters, i. e., roughly speaking, one-fifth of the length from the tip of the toes to the crown; the distance between heel and crown is 305 millimeters, etc. The measurements of the Vischer figure were taken from the original, and those of the Zurich figure from the Lippmann reproduction which has the size of the original.

¹¹*Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, XXVIII, pp. 365-372.

¹²This retrospective group consists of the following drawings, already partly referred to in this essay: 1 — The drawing D 2 (Fig. 7) dated 1512. 2 — The drawing D 11/12 (Figs. 8 and 3), which, as Justi has shown, can be dated in 1512 because of its affinity with D 2. 3 — The drawing D 9/10 (Figs. 9 and 4) dated 1513.

¹³For the construction of the figures of the Apollo group see Justi, *Konstruierte Figuren und Köpfe unter den Werken Albrecht Dürers*, p. 5 et seq. In both the Zurich and the Louvre drawings there is only an arch which indicates the knee, but not a diagonal running through the standing leg. Parker draws it into his construction chart, probably in accordance with the construction of the figures of the Apollo group. In any case it offers a ready means of comparing the proportions of the figure.

drawing by Vischer, the fractions refer to the distance between the tip of the toes and the crown, and the following measurements are ascertainable:

Crown of the head — pit of the throat; pit of the throat — pit of the stomach; pit of the stomach — crotch: one-sixth (the first and the second sixths are marked by Dürer with brackets and the figure 6, whilst at the point where the third sixth ends he notes "mit," i. e., middle of the figure.¹⁴⁾

Height of head: one-eighth (marked by Dürer with a bracket and the figure 8, the bracket linking a point on the level of the chin to a point on the level of the crown).

Width of the shoulders: one-fourth (Dürer draws a bracket and notes 4).

Narrowest part of the waist, *viz.*, length of the lower line of the "breast square" as well as length of the upper line of the "hip trapezoid"; one-sixth (Dürer notes 6).

The lower width of the hips is smaller in D 11/12 than in the Zurich Apollo and in the double-sided figure by Vischer; in both of these it is one-fifth (according to a note by Dürer in D 11, the distance between the navel and the pit of the throat is clearly discernible as being $1/5$). Nor will one-fifth as the width of the hips fit the figures of the Apollo group.¹⁵

Constructing in D 11 the diagonal through the standing leg which connects the lowest point of the hip with the knee and is halved by the latter, its lowest point is situated above the heel, which again agrees with Parker's construction chart of the Zurich Apollo.

In D 2 (Fig. 7) Dürer marks the shoulder joints¹⁶ by two points, each surrounded by a circle. The pit of the throat lies, as in D 25, in the middle of a line connecting the two points (in D 25 Dürer notes "Halsgrüble," i. e., pit of the throat).

If we take the distance between the two shoulder points as a radius, and describe a circle around the pit of the throat, the circumference touches the pit of the stomach and the crown of the head (owing to the curly hair, however, the crown of the head is not clearly discernible). Furthermore, the distance between the pit of the stomach and the crotch also corresponds to this unit of measurement, and the crotch in turn is three of these units above the level of the tips of the toes, i. e., the nearer edge of the base on

¹⁴⁾Dürer often abbreviates fractions by the denominator, if the numerator is 1. Dürer explains this process in his drawing D 83, dated 1509; for instance he writes "9" on a certain part of the body, and writes beside it "1/9 teill" (i. e., 1/9th part).

¹⁵⁾On the London Apollo, the Apollo L 179 and the Adam this width is smaller, on the so-called *Aesculapius* it is bigger than one fifth (see the construction of the said figures in Justi, *Konstruierte Figuren und Köpfe unter den Werken A. D.*).

¹⁶⁾Or, as Dürer says in his *Treatise on Human Proportions* "achsselglider." In Book I of the *Treatise on Human Proportion* he says, for instance, when explaining the first male figure and referring to the distance between two points of the shoulder joints: "Zwischen den achsselglidern in der Höhe des halbgrübleins ein 5 teil" (i. e., between the "achsselglider" on the level of the pit of the throat one fifth part).

which the figure stands. The inference is that Dürer in D 2, as also, for instance, in D 43, has assumed the distance between the points of the shoulder joints to be one-sixth of the total length, *viz.*, of the distance between the crown and the tip of the toes. The height of the head of the figure is about 1/8 of this length. The width of the shoulders is 1/4. The narrowest part of the waist is 1/6 again. Again the knee lies midway on a diagonal of the standing leg which links the hip to the ankle, and again the lowest point of this diagonal is above the heel. Finally, the posture of the figure transmitted by the Zurich drawing and the Vischer drawing can be easily fitted into Justi's "retrospective" group.

The attitude of the Vischer and the Zurich figures is a variation on the motif of the drawing D 9/10 (Figs. 9 and 4), dated 1513, whose relation to the London Apollo L 233 and to the Apollo L 179 has been repeatedly mentioned.¹⁷ In accordance with D 9/10 our figure is drawn with shoulders and hips slanting in opposite directions — the weight being on one foot, with the head turned towards the free leg, with the lowered arm on the side of the standing leg, and with the raised arm on the side of the free leg. But in D 9/10 the body is more strongly inclined to the side of the standing leg; the head, in pure profile, is tossed back, whilst it appears bent down in our figures; the distance between the free leg and the standing leg is wider; and the lowered arm is bent at the elbow, with the forearm placed across the back (which anticipates the scheme used in the Treatise on Human Proportion, as Justi pointed out).

In the Zurich drawing the figure appears on one side of the sheet only; in the Vischer drawing it appears on the recto as well as on the verso. Thus we have to ask which of the two replicas resembles the original in this respect. Was the original a drawing like D 2¹⁸, where the construction and the fair copy are on the same side, in which case the figure without a quiver (Fig. 6), only transmitted in the replica in the Louvre, would be an addition by Vischer? Or was the construction on one side, and the fair copy on the other, in which case the question arises which side was which?

¹⁷Compare: Bruck, *op. cit.*, text to illustration 9; Panofsky, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLI, p. 367; Flechsig, *op. cit.*, II, p. 160.

¹⁸Flechsig, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149, in affirming that the double-sided method was generally used in the drawings of the "Dresdner Skizzenbuch," obviously did not think of the one-sided drawing D. 2. Its signature and the date (1512) are doubtless authentic, as established by Flechsig himself (*ibid.* p. 11), and he explicitly declared it to be constructed (*ibid.* p. 155). D 2, like L 323, a drawing which Flechsig (*ibid.* p. 199) rightly dates about 1512 on the grounds of its affinity to D 11, militates against his theory that three construction methods strictly supersede one another in Dürer's work, namely: the first, by which the construction and the finished copy are on the same side of the sheet; the second, by which the construction and the fair copy are carried out on different sheets; the third, by which the construction is completed on one side, while the fair copy is found on the other side of the same sheet, *i. e.*, the double-sided method. It is this thesis which causes Flechsig to assert that from 1506 on Dürer exclusively used the double-sided method of construction.

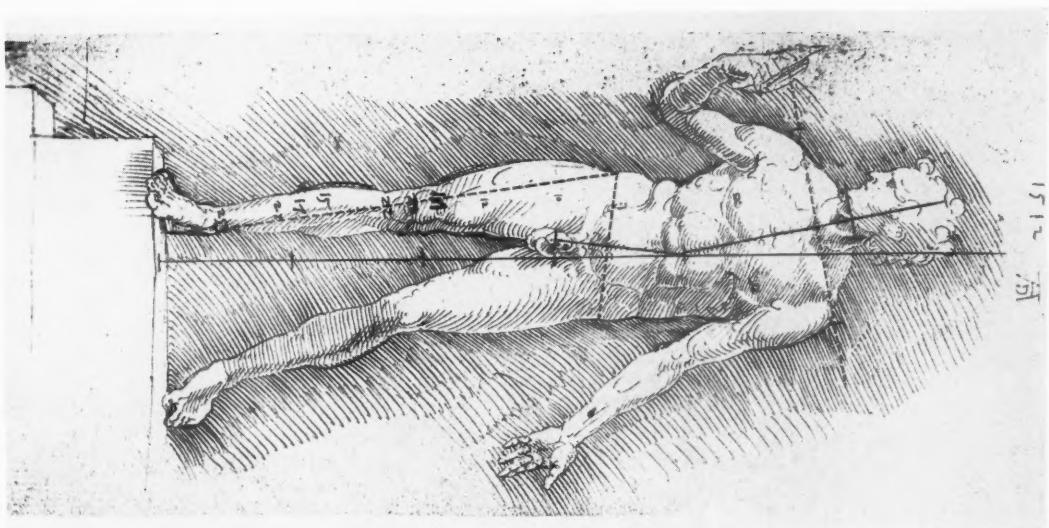


FIG. 7. DÜRER: PROPORTION FIGURE (with references to construction) FROM THE DRESDEN SKETCH BOOK, D 2

State Library of Saxony, Dresden

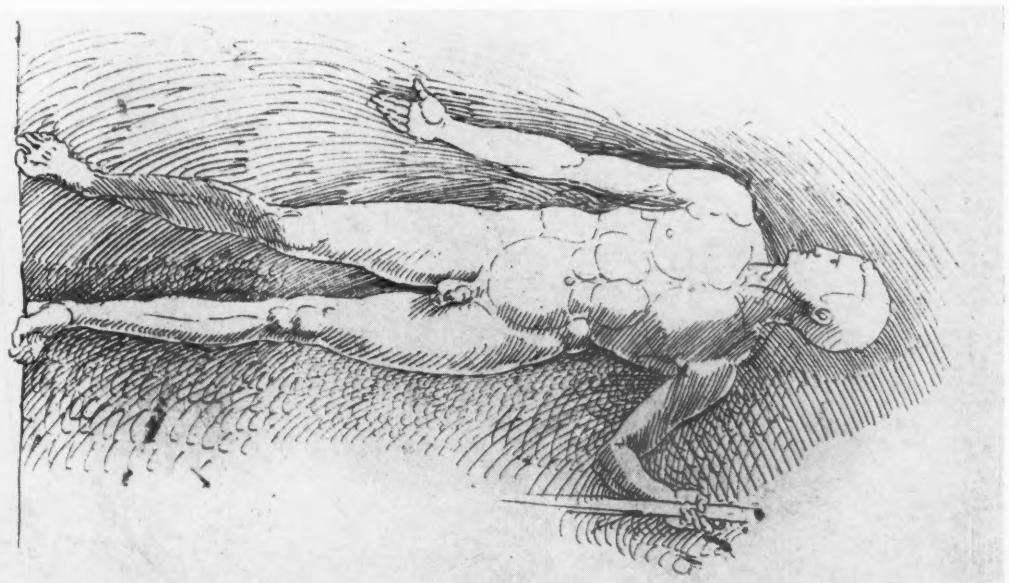


FIG. 3. DÜRER: PROPORTION FIGURE FROM THE DRESDEN SKETCH BOOK, D 12

State Library of Saxony, Dresden

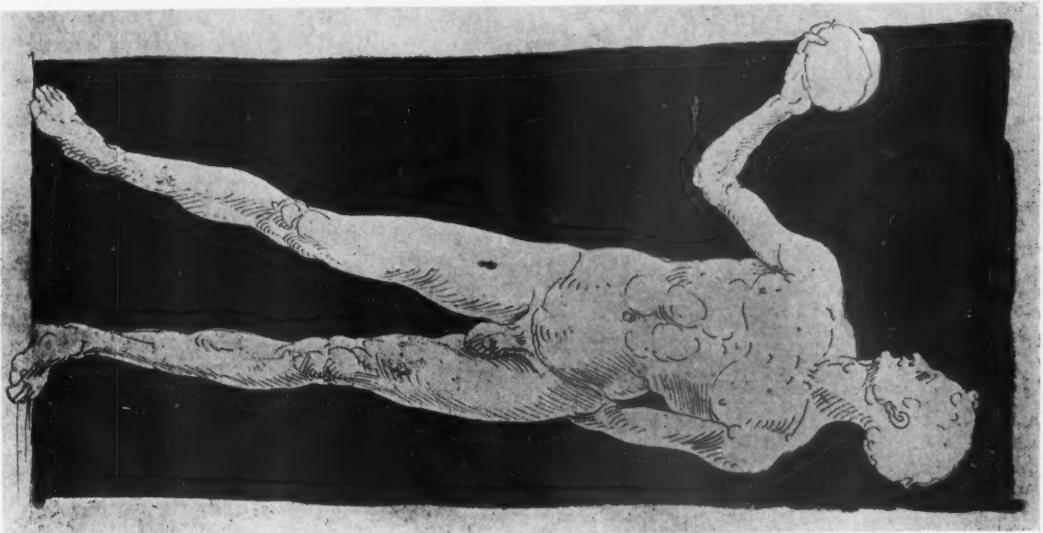


FIG. 4. DÜRER: PROPORTION FIGURE FROM THE DRESDEN SKETCH BOOK, D 10

State Library of Saxony, Dresden

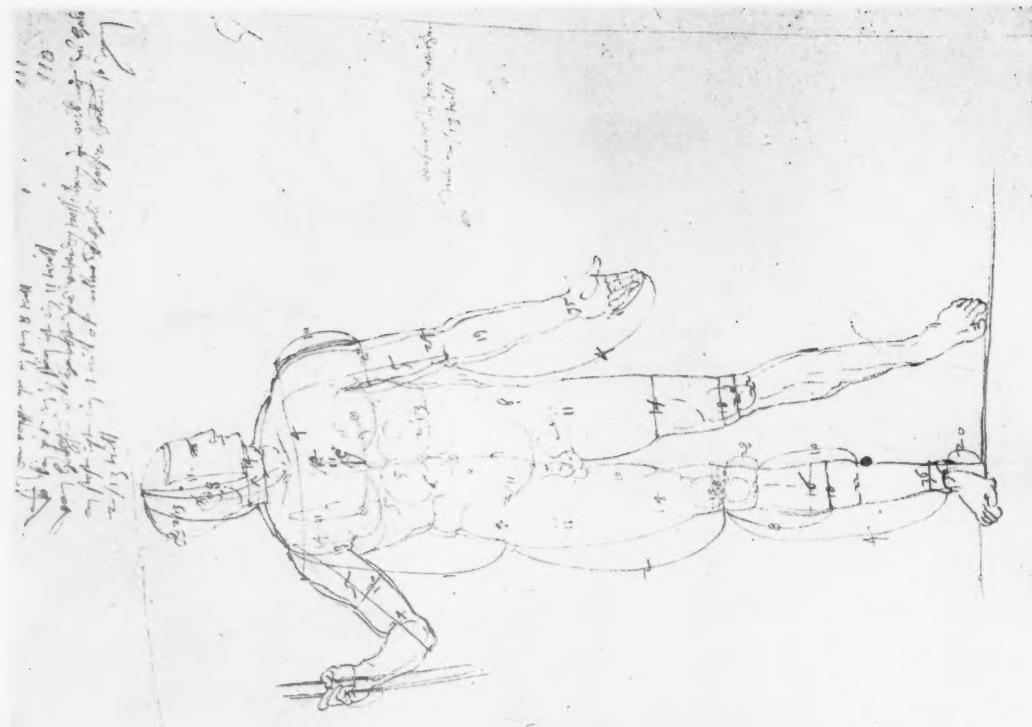


FIG. 8. DÜRER: PROPORTION FIGURE (with references to construction)
FROM THE DRESDEN SKETCH BOOK, D 11
State Library of Saxony, Dresden

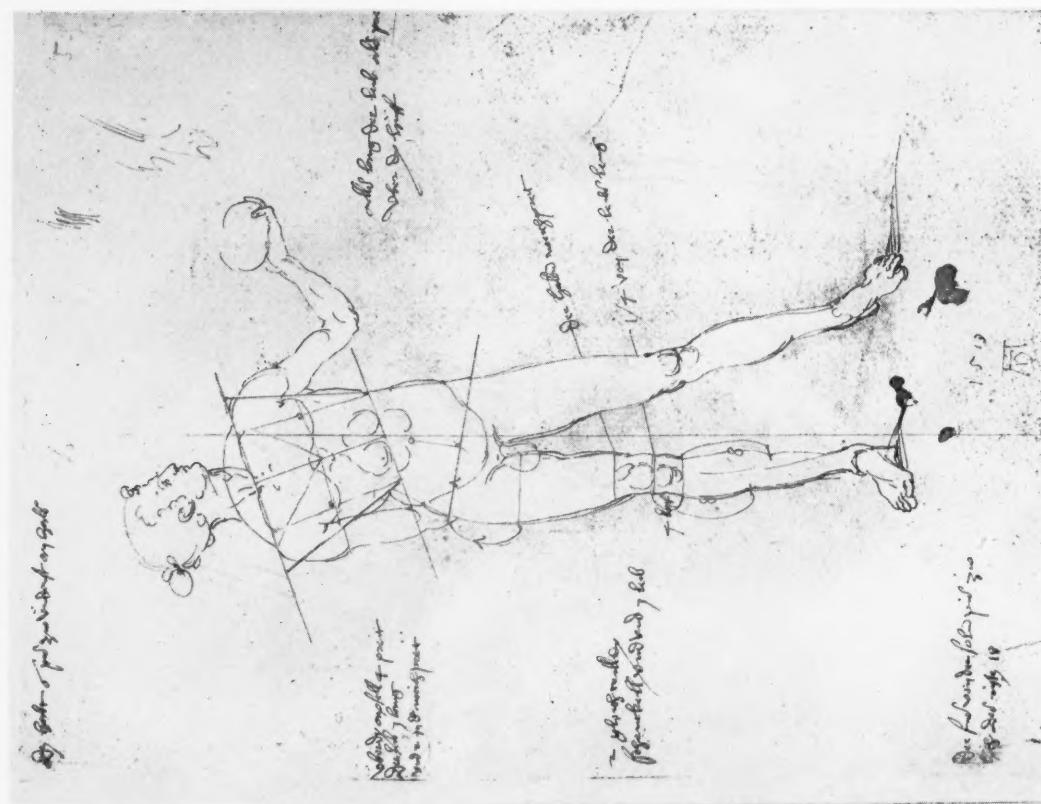


FIG. 9. DÜRER : PROPORTION FIGURE FROM THE DRESDEN SKETCH BOOK, D 9
State Library of Saxony, Dresden

As has already been pointed out, the side with the quiver in the Louvre drawing corresponds in its modelling to the verso of a double-sided drawing by Dürer of about 1512/13, and the Zurich drawing reproduces such a drawing, altered in the sense of a still more plastic modelling, because of its background, described above, which is absent from the Louvre drawing, the Zurich drawing bears a still closer resemblance to Dürer's verso drawings, such as the oft-quoted drawing D 12 (Fig. 3). Again, the other side of the Louvre drawing (Fig. 6), with its absence of modelling resembles the other, *viz.*, the constructed side of analogous double-sided drawings (see D 9/10, Figs. 9 and 4, and D 11/12, Figs. 8 and 3). This side, and not that corresponding to the Zurich drawing, contains also the "base-line" of the figure, important for its construction, and which is also entered in the Zurich replica.

The Zurich drawing, like the corresponding side of the one in the Louvre, is also more elaborate with regard to the attributes. The quiver, present in both, is absent from the other side of the Vischer sheet, where the bow, too, is but feebly indicated. In this peculiarity the replica in the Louvre agrees with those original Dürer drawings which show the construction on one side of the sheet and the fair copy on the other (see, for example, the drawing D 70/71, where only the fair copy has a complete staff and, in addition, a cornucopia; or the drawings L 241/240, L 242/239, L 476).

For all these reasons it is probable that the lost original was a double-sided drawing, the constructed side of which was copied on that side of the Louvre drawing which was not repeated in the Zurich replica. Both the Zurich drawing and the other side of the Vischer drawing were copied from the more elaborate "verso" of the original. Yet Parker has shown that the Zurich drawing, too, contains lines of construction analogous to those which are scratched in on the corresponding side of the Vischer drawing.

These seemingly contradictory facts might be explained as follows: Vischer first traced both sides of the original, omitting, however, the construction lines, because circles and lines which have been drawn with a ruler cannot be traced exactly. Then he pricked the points essential for the construction and, basing himself on these, drew in the construction by means of a blunt instrument on that side of the sheet which was of greater importance to him, because it showed the well-modelled figure. The author of the Zurich drawing employed the same method when drawing in the construction lines in his copy of the well-modelled "verso" of the double-sided original, in which alone he was interested.



IT is with the deepest grief and sense of loss that we record the death on October 23rd last of Frederic Fairchild Sherman, the founder, publisher and editor of *ART IN AMERICA*. He inaugurated the magazine in 1913 as the first art journal in this country, and sustained with resolute effort for twenty-eight years his original high standard of scholarship and uncompromising policy of independence. His rich career as a dealer in rare books and pictures, collector, publisher, and author, reached its consummate achievement as editor of *ART IN AMERICA*. His knowledge and enjoyment of art, his critical acumen and judgment and his experienced mastery of fine printing have kept the pages of *ART IN AMERICA* vital and sound. We, the present editors, are determined to continue his magazine as he so carefully planned it and so energetically maintained it. It will be our steadfast aim to preserve his rare integrity of purpose and to carry on his constant disinterested effort in the furtherance of critical scholarship in America.





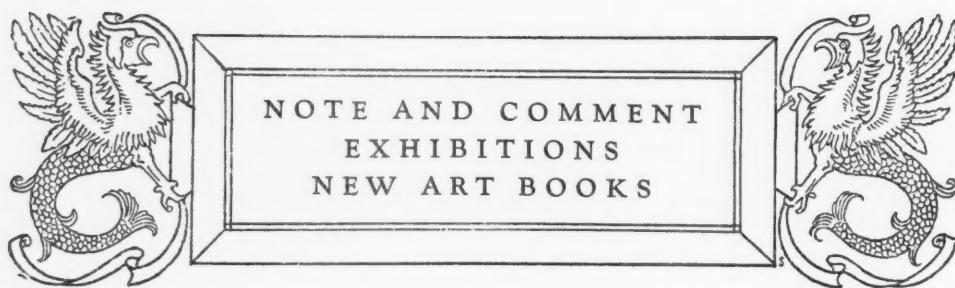
THE SCULPTOR AND THE POET

*Suggested by a Bronze Bust of the Author
by Dudley Wadsworth*

The hand of Fate has touched this furrowed face
And left the marks of sorrow and of care
Forever fixed upon it so that there
One sees the man as though within a space
Of time removed from every commonplace—
And still he seems bent on the beauties rare
That blossom all about the pathway where
He passes, which he never can retrace.

Here in this bronze the sculptor somehow caught
The inner meaning of the wonders wrought
By beauty and by love within a soul
And left them fixed for other men to see
And think upon and ponder carefully
As milestones on the way unto life's goal.

— *Frederic Fairchild Sherman*



A BOZETTO BY P. N. BEAUVALLET

BY MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

The French Revolution meant a tremendous change for those artists who were trained in the eighteenth century manner. Many sculptors, as Clodion for instance, found it too difficult to abandon their old style of working and create sculptures which would please the new group of patrons with taste at the opposite extreme of that in which the artists had been trained. Among the younger artists, more ardent in their political feelings but also less accomplished, were a number such as Lesueur, Dupasquier and Beauvallet who were fired by the Revolution and worked for it with enthusiasm.

Pierre Nicholas Beauvallet¹ was born at Le Havre, June 21, 1750, and died in Paris on the 14th or 15th of April, 1818. He studied with Augustin Pajou (1733-1809) who produced some of the loveliest sculptures in the eighteenth century but made the transition to the new régime less successfully than did his less distinguished pupil. Although Beauvallet was enthusiastically for the Revolution, his political activities got him into prison in 1790 where he remained several months before his wife could stir up sufficient interest among those in power to get his release. After this he abandoned politics and confined himself to executing busts of patriots or allegorical statues and groups. For example, he did busts of Marat and Charlier. In 1794 he executed for the Jacobins of Paris a statue of William Tell who five hundred years earlier fought the House of Austria. While in prison he made a number of designs with such titles as *Peace Making Homage to Liberty of the First Fruits of Good Fortune*, *Tyranny Overturned*, and others of the same sort which he exhibited at the salon in 1795. He exposed in the salon of 1800 a statue of *Force* and issued in 1803-4 three sections of a book illustrated with fragments of architecture, sculpture and painting in the antique style, a book dedicated appropriately enough to David, exponent of Neo-classicism.

Beauvallet's masterpiece, if a mediocre sculptor could be said to have a masterpiece, is his statue of *Susanna at the Bath*. He was given the Grande Médaille for the original exhibited at the salon of 1810 and an appreciation by the critic of the *Journal des Débats* who said he had done better than Clodion. The government ordered the Susanna in marble, a version that the artist exhibited at the salon of 1814. This time the critic of the same journal wrote that although he regretted the sculptor did not have a higher degree of ideal beauty since the head lacked beauty; the form, elevation and style; yet the pose was natural, the expression true and the execution worthy of

¹Bib. E. Piot, *L'État Civil de Quelque Artistes Français*. Paris, 1873, p. 10. E. Brebion, "Beauvallet, Profession de Foi," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*. 1896, p. 151. E. Bellier de la Chavignerie and L. Auvray, *Dictionnaire Général des Artistes de l'Ecole Française*. Paris, 1882, I. p. 60.

praise. The statue was installed in the *Laiterie* of Marie Antoinette at the Chateau of Rambouillet, replacing the *Bather* by Julien. Peter Denys of Chelsea, England, ordered another copy provided that Beauvallet would promise to do no more.²

At his death in 1818, Beauvallet was occupied with an unfinished statue of General Moreau and a head of Sappho. The Walters Art Gallery has a statuette³ in terracotta inscribed *Sappho* and signed "Beauvallet Fecit Anno 1813." In pose and manner of dressing the hair this statuette suggests the finished *Susanna* at Rambouillet, and was in all probability inspired by such classical statues exhibited in the galleries of Napoleon as the so-called *Terpsichore*, or better still the *Thalia*. Perhaps this sketch is an indication that he was contemplating a statue of the Greek poetess on the same scale as the *Susanna* but for some reason abandoned the idea and confined himself merely to doing a head. The statuette, as one might expect, is inspired by the classical art which was the prevailing fashion of the day but without the cold success of a Canova. It is burdened with fussy details, all that remains of the earlier eighteenth century style in which the artist was trained.

A member of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Beauvallet never was made an academician. His work as restorer of the Louvre in which field he showed himself as cold and careful, illustrates his type of mind. His *Jeanne d'Arc*⁴, described as a pastiche in the Troubadour manner was made for Lenoir after some paintings, as a pendant for the bust of Charles VII. It is typical of the new interest in the past of France. Beauvallet, like many other lesser artists, seized on the new political ideas to forward his own interests but like many others of his type he lacked the ability to forge beyond that and create a style worthy of the new régime.

²Lorin, "La Suzanne de Beauvallet," *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, 1897, pp. 739ff. E. Brebion, "Beauvallet—une Replique de la Statue de Suzanne," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, 1896, pp. 31ff.

³27.372. H. 16 3/8" (.414). Acquired in New York in 1910.

⁴L. Courajod, "Observations sur Deux Bustes du Louvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1883, II, p. 32. Cf. *G. B. A.*, 1879, I. p. 159, and *G. B. A.*, 1876, II, p. 448.

EXHIBITIONS

SURVEY OF AMERICAN PAINTING

The Survey of American Painting at the Carnegie Institute is the most complete collection of American Painting yet gathered together. In recent years there have been many retrospective shows of American art and each has played its rôle in the formation of contemporary taste, but the Carnegie show, consisting of two hundred and forty-six retrospective and one hundred and twenty-one contemporary works, offers a rare opportunity for taking the full measure of progress, or rather change, in our esthetic consciousness. No single phase has been emphasized and probably no new light brought to bear on attributions, influences or techniques, yet it must rank as one of the few significant shows of the decade.

Here one may sense superbly foreign influences, academic trends and spontaneous creative impulses. We come ever closer to an understanding of ourselves and what belongs uniquely and individually to us. The well-known Feke portrait of the Royall family is certainly more appealing, though less skillful, than John Smibert's more English and too consciously posed *Dean Berkeley and His Entourage*. William S.

Mount far surpasses the better known and foreign trained Eastman Johnson. David Blythe stands out as much more vital than the more popular Woodville. But these things were sensed at the great loan exhibition, "Life in America," held in New York a year ago last summer. In the Carnegie show other and more extreme examples of this unsophisticated native quality, as in Edward Hicks' *Peaceable Kingdom*, or *The Residence of David Twining in 1787*, the delightful and unfortunately anonymous *Baby in Red Chair* and again an anonymous work, *The Runaway Horse*, give one an opportunity to grasp more keenly characteristics peculiarly American. They suggest the naïve sincerity of John Kane and make an approach to the decoratively detailed, *Stone City, Iowa*, by the contemporary Grant Wood. They contrast sharply with the more monumentally conceived and skillfully executed work of Eakins and Homer, or the contemporaries, Mattson, Speicher and Burchfield. Yet the work of these men is equally national in feeling.

Landscape where the romantic and sometimes strangely mysterious traits of American thought have found significant expression is well represented. There is an alluring kinship between the topographically conceived early work of Ralph Earl, *Looking East from Leicester Hills* and the minutely painted *Vermont Pastoral* by Lucioni. Precision and interest in detail dominate much modern work as Peter Hurd's splendid tempera panel, *The Alamo Tree*, but not more so than it does in the cleverly-painted *Niagara Falls* canvas of Frederick Church done in 1857. Work of this period representing the marvels of our natural scenery reveals a confidence in the force of painting quite lacking today. As one surveys the modern section, notwithstanding the large colorful landscape, *This Is My Own*, by Rockwell Kent, one realizes that artists today have turned rather to something suggestive of definite human problems in order to find therein an expressive significance, as in the sad flood scene of Burchfield's *Old House and Elm Trees*.

Interest in imaginative landscape painting began early in America as seen in the two large works, *Elijah and the Ravens* and *The Deluge*, by Washington Allston. The former is signed 1818. Samuel Morse, well represented by four works, including the great *Marquis de Lafayette* painted in 1826, also is shown by a landscape, *Chapel of the Virgin at Subiaco*, in which we see an early manifestation of the spell of Italy. In the adaptation of this poetic quality to the American scene, no one is more outstanding than Inness, best shown here by *Winter Morning, Montclair*. Something of this delicate and sensitive relationship to nature lingers in the work of Eilshemius although the *Approaching Storm* here shown was done in 1890. Quidor, Ryder, and Blakelock typify a visionary phase perhaps better realized in our literature. Like Davies, whose breadth is shown by five canvases, these men were striving for a spiritual grandeur which their patrons could not grasp and so they, too, seem to have just missed the attainment which they sought.

The exhibition as a whole suggests intriguing digressions into the problem of taste. There is much work hung which it would certainly be difficult for one even with the broadest standards to call other than dull. The achievements of American artists would live more vividly in the minds of the spectators at the Carnegie Survey if much work were eliminated. Such decisions are difficult and perhaps no two people would exactly agree. However, where a particular phase is relatively uninteresting in the light of present-day connoisseurship, a museum director should feel justified in limiting those examples, and where masterpieces are shown as here, they in turn lose in importance when surrounded by much that is less representative or less skillfully executed. In so comprehensive a survey, it is somewhat singular not to find the American movement in Abstract Art represented. Not that the work of these men is recognized by many as

significant but it does indicate a movement of importance in the contemporary outlook.

The exhibit is hung chronologically. It would be valuable if later exhibits could be arranged to bring out various influences. That is, in the early period so dominated by the eighteenth century English tradition, it would be illuminating to show an English conversation piece, a Devis or a Hogarth, and a Reynolds or a Gainsborough. The Dusseldorf, Munich and Paris phases might be clarified in a similar way.

American painting has vitality only in so far as it has developed a native manner. Naturally, many of the artists are of European birth and most of them studied abroad but perhaps a keener discrimination of the American element might have been made. Why, for example, was Jules Pascin included, who was born in Bulgaria, studied in Vienna, settled and died in Paris, while Leutze who painted *Washington Crossing the Delaware* is not represented? One could multiply such examples without significance. What perhaps does have some significance is the note that in the retrospective section over half of the foreign-born painters were English whereas in the contemporary section there are none of English birth but about half of those born abroad are Russian while Germany and Italy almost complete the total.

And yet whatever the racial background of our artists, it becomes increasingly evident through an exhibition such as this that we are achieving a great national culture. It is well to have it before us. A richly illustrated catalogue with short biographical notes makes a valued and permanent record of the Exhibition.

— WALTER REED HOVEY

THE SCHOOL OF FONTAINEBLEAU

In the second decade of the sixteenth century, Florence had the opportunity to repay its age-long debt to the Ile-de-France. At that time, French art was sadly in need of a revitalizing influence. The great Gothic school of France, after a glorious life, was then near its end. The school of the Renaissance and the modern world was as yet unborn. From the death of Fouquet, in 1481, until the coronation of Francis I, thirty-five years later, no great painting was produced in France.

Leonardo da Vinci was invited to come to France by the new King; but Leonardo had little influence on the moribund native school. Another foreigner, Janet the Fleming, came to Tours, and founded a school of court portraiture, which adhered in great measure to the technique of the Flemish school, and produced portraits closely resembling those of the portrait painters of the early school of the Netherlands. But the share that these northerners, Janet and François Clouet, had in the formation of *le style français* has been greatly exaggerated by art historians. It was not until Rosso the Florentine came to Fontainebleau in 1531 that the new school of French painting was founded.

Mr. Francis H. Taylor has stated¹ that "the crucible in which were blended the various essences of the French style—Tuscan, Fleming, Lombard and Castilian—was the court of Francis I and his son Henri II, at Fontainebleau, to which were called the leading painters, sculptors and decorators of the time."

This is well said. But the dominant ingredient in this crucible was the Tuscan. Rosso Fiorentino, working in conjunction with his royal patron, was the first founder of *le style français*. He originated at Fontainebleau a new style of art, the child of

¹Francis H. Taylor, *La Belle Diane*, in the Worcester Art Museum Annual, Vol. III, 1937-38, p. 47. This article is an admirable account of the School of Fontainebleau.

Florence, in which architecture, sculpture and painting, each had their due place in the whole scheme. His assistant and successor was Primaticcio, who added to a Florentine feeling for form, the grace and charm of the school of Parma.

As in Florence, the art of painting was largely dominated by sculpture. The greatest of Florentine artists — greatest, that is, in his accomplishment as an artist — Michael Angelo, despised the art of painting. Rosso brought about a marriage of the two arts in which sculpture was the predominant partner.

It is most important that the student of modern schools of painting should have a clear idea of what happened at Fontainebleau in the third decade of the 16th century. For, from the movement that began there, modern French art takes its origin. Rosso and Primaticcio were not only the ancestors, in the direct line, of Fragonard and Boucher: they were also the progenitors of Ingres and Delacroix, of Manet and Degas. For successive generations, young French artists went to school in Italy, not as servile imitators, but to find there guidance and inspiration. Thus time after time, an old work of art became the starting-point for a new creation, a French creation.

The directors of the Wildenstein Gallery have, therefore, rendered a public service by arranging an exhibition of works of the school of Fontainebleau, and other contemporary French schools.

It is true that it is very difficult to arrive at a just appreciation of the works of Rosso, his colleagues and followers, without visiting Fontainebleau. It is true, too, that even there, the student encounters great difficulties; for many of the paintings have been terribly injured by restoration. But at Fontainebleau, looking at a happy combination of the three major arts, it is possible, nevertheless, to form a just opinion of what Rosso and Primaticcio aimed at doing, and how far they succeeded.

At the Wildenstein Gallery a brave attempt has been made to show us some of the chief characteristics of a school that has the greatest historical importance. In the presence of a masterpiece such as Primaticcio's *Venus and Cupid* we realize that we are looking at a work by a forerunner of the great school of French painting. In addition to those pictures that belong to the main stream of artistic development, there are, in the collection at the Wildenstein Gallery, works by François Clouet and his followers, that whilst having fashionable Italian subjects, preserved the meticulous technique of the old schools of Flanders. Amongst such works are *The Bath of Diana* by Clouet himself, *The Tepidarium* by a follower of Clouet, and the *Venus and Vulcan*, a work in which the influence of Italy had come to the painter through the alembic of the art of Gossart.

— LANGTON DOUGLAS

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

At a time when the European débâcle is causing America to take stock of its own cultural past, the fragmentary and rather confused exhibition of the work of Frank Lloyd Wright ("Arranged by himself") at the Museum of Modern Art comes as a real disappointment. The conjunction of the chronology in the life of the architect and that of the country was never more appropriate than now for a comprehensive show of his work of the past fifty years. With the original colorful drawings and plans touched up, matted, and clearly labelled and supplemented with photographs and models, a systematic exhibit could be made which would be as extensive and varied as the memorable Picasso spectacle and for the average visitor more significant and instructive. Furthermore a complete presentation of projects and realizations would

have given us the opportunity to temper the growing uncritical adulation of the architect and the proper perspective to define more accurately his achievements in his intellectual and architectural milieu.

The present exhibit consists of drawings, photographs, and models from all his periods but some emphasis is laid on a few of his latest works in the cellular or prismatic manner. From the title of the exhibit ("In the Nature of Materials: the Work of Frank Lloyd Wright") one expects to find a dramatization of how materials such as plaster, wood, stone, brick, and concrete are transformed by a sensitive and imaginative architect who has no equal in this respect. Individual works are exciting in themselves. But neither the selection of the illustrative material nor the order of presentation, and least of all the scarce and indistinct labels and irrelevant pronouncements carry on the implications of the title. It is not difficult to make simple statements about the inherent qualities of materials and their effective use in architecture. But pontifical and occult legends concerning principles are more impressive. Thus "No building in the collection shown here is designed by way of taste. All are founded upon or rooted in principle. What romance and individuality each possesses is by way of principle at work. These buildings are what they are solely because principles understood are comprehensively and conscientiously practised in conceiving (sic) and building them. These buildings have resemblances to each other not because of personal idiosyncracy but because all have the countenance of principle." Another sign quite unnecessarily calls attention to his early use of the corner window in order to vindicate his modernity. Still a third speciously explains that the roof plane of any of his early buildings "tipped edgewise will give you the elevation characteristics of the so-called 'International Style.'"

Although the Museum of Modern Art readily absolved itself from any criticism by declaring in print that the exhibition was arranged by the architect I hope that the unsatisfactory results of this and the Bauhaus exhibition will convince the architects concerned to take in the future only a consultative rôle and the Museum to use its prerogative and experience much more effectively.

— DIMITRIS TSELOS

AMERICAN PRIMITIVES

The recent exhibition of fourteen primitive paintings at the Knoedler Galleries is worth special notice because it sets one more recognized stamp of value and importance on this anonymous phase of American art.

Among the interesting paintings were a robustly designed pair of portraits of a *Woman in a Sheer Cap* and a *Man with a Ship-enright*, painted in oil on wood, a gay colorful account on canvas of a Parade on Boston Common, and a little boy's portrait notable for the strange brown dog squeezed under his arm. But the outstanding feature of the exhibition was a group of three painted panels, dating from the mid-eighteenth century and originally set as a series in the walls of an old house in Brooklyn, Connecticut. The panel which was originally the overmantel, representing a hunting scene, ranks with that rare handful of masterpieces of primitive painting most of which are already in American museums. On this long rectangular panel rigid Colonial horsemen and hounds are silhouetted in a rhythmic pattern against undulating hills and hedge-rows, and the quiet horizontal of the evening sky is broken only by the tall trees that flank the ends of the scene. Ralph Earl's famous *Looking East from Leicester Hills* is not as beautiful nor as interesting as this anonymous overmantel.

— JEAN LIPMAN

NEW ART BOOKS

DRAWINGS IN THE FOGG MUSEUM OF ART. By *Agnes Mongan and Paul J. Sachs*. 3 vols., 465 pp., 404 collotype plates, \$25.00. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940.

No one has done more than Mr. Sachs and Miss Mongan to make the American scholar conscious of the beauty and instructiveness of master drawings, and the annotated and illustrated publication of the Fogg Museum drawings, which is a crystallization of so many years of thought and research and enthusiasm, will give an added permanence to their work. The two volumes of collotype plates, done with their usual skill by the Meriden Gravure Company, form a kind of exhibition of some of the finest drawings in the world: farm houses in a flat waste of cold, wet snow by Rembrandt; barns in the vivid light of the Italian sun by Tiepolo; the haunting face of a doomed young man by Holbein; the confident handsome face of a man of the world by Van Dyck; Corot's quiet woman knitting, and his bewildered, unhappy boy; the heart-breaking Picasso of a mountebank's thin wife and tiny child; and a succession of famous but still unbelievable Degas'. The volume of text, in which difficult typographical problems are handled with taste and ingenuity, is more than a properly documented list of the possessions of the Fogg Museum — it is an intimate history of European art told in the beautifully written short essays which follow the statistical information about each drawing. For drawings give a closer view of the artist as an artist than his paintings or sculptures can. In them we find how he learned to be an artist at all. We see a 14th century Florentine copying figures from Simone Martini's frescoes at Assisi, Fra Bartolomeo drawing from a Graeco-Roman Aphrodite, Tintoretto from a cast of a Michelangelo, Rubens from a painting by Tintoretto, and Degas from Benozzo Gozzoli — until the whole fabric of art history seems one interlacing indebtedness. And, of course, we find the artist learning from Nature by drawing the nude or the draped figure — the patient wife or sister or the professional model — for the human body is the difficult and essential problem, the mystery the artist must understand. Again, we see the artist confronted by a particular pictorial problem. We find Filippino Lippi trying to visualize the Pieta, which he could never bring himself to finish for the Certosa at Pavia, and experimenting first with a horizontal block of figures below a background of architectural vistas, and then with a more logical composition of equal triangles which gives an almost Cinquecento spaciousness. We find Rubens dissatisfied with the thumb of the Christ — who will be transformed from the few lines on the paper to the great figure on the cross in the Antwerp altarpiece — and trying the thumb over again on a corner of the sheet as a pianist will practice a run. We find Houdon and Carpeaux setting down their ideas for bas-reliefs in the sketchiest possible fashion as if they were irked by the two-dimensional requirements of the pencil and felt at ease only with the chisel in their hands. There also emerges from these explanatory essays the story of the recognition that this invaluable artist's tool, the drawing, could serve other purposes as well. The portrait drawing was the first to leave the studio for the layman's portfolio, as the Fogg Durer and Luini show. The albums of famous men, for which Catherine de' Medici set the fashion, kept the crayons of Clouet and his contemporaries busy, and later, the still perfection of such pencil portraits as that of Mme. Hayard brought Ingres a livelihood. The faultless little drawings by the elder Van der Velde, so fascinating to anyone in love with ships, served an unexpected purpose as documents of battle, since Van der Velde was employed as a naval observer. The delicately detailed drawing of the Villa Ludovisi by



PIERRE NICOLAS BEAUVALLET: SAPPHO (terracotta)
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland



FRANCESCO PRIMATICCIO: VENUS AND CUPID
Wildenstein and Co., New York



ANONYMOUS: THE RUNAWAY HORSE
Whitney Museum of American Art, New York

Israël Silvestre, and the evocative views of Dresden by the German Romantic Richter were drawn to be etched and published as souvenirs of 17th century Rome or 19th century Dresden; and the Hubert Robert of the Campidoglio was of the sort which he and Fragonard and others drew for published albums of the antiquities of Rome. And it is pleasant to find Boucher, who drew with such easy pleasure, the artist who made the drawing an independent work of art worthy of a handsome frame and a square foot or two of space on the boudoir wall.

As a basis for the essays there is the sober scholarship that finds for the first time a date for a Pollaiuolo drawing, that disentangles an intricate dispute and proves a fragment an authentic Pinturicchio, distinguishes the original Piazzetta from the copy, and swings the so-called Rustici into the more congenial orbit of the School of Fontainebleau. Undogmatic as the assertions of the authors usually are, a few may arouse the hunting instincts of the critics — this reviewer, for example, is not satisfied that the Muse standing by a garlanded sarcophagus is not Florentine rather than Ferrarese, or that the Gaudenzio Ferrari would not better be labelled "fragment of an Ascension" — but everyone who is interested in art must be grateful to Mr. Sachs and Miss Mongan, and to the Council of Learned Societies which helped to finance the publication, for so splendid an achievement as the collection itself, the sensitive and valuable comments and the beautiful presentation of the material. It is one of the important landmarks in American culture.

— RUTH WEDGWOOD KENNEDY

WITHOUT DRUMS. By P. A. B. Widener. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1940. 279 pp., 16 pls.

Mr P. A. B. Widener's autobiography is a very frank account of the life of a member of one of the wealthiest of American families in the Golden Age of millionaires — an age that is now coming to an end, if it has not already ended.

It is a book that contains much that is of interest to art connoisseurs and art historians, as well as to dog fanciers and racing men. It will appeal, too, to the general reader because of its life-like portraits, of which the most successful is that of the author's mother.

Precisely because of its engaging frankness and sincerity, and because it tells us so much about a society that is changing rapidly in a changing world, this book will not share the fate of so many autobiographies, but will always have a certain importance for the social historian.

— LANGTON DOUGLAS

FILIPPINO LIPPI: A CRITICAL STUDY. By Katharine B. Neilson. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1938, xiv & 235 pp., frontispiece & 113 figs.

This is the second monograph on Filippino Lippi to come out in a comparatively short time.¹ Previously this painter had been rather neglected. There were sufficient detail studies which made known dates of his life as discovered in archives and which dealt with attributions to him or discussions of individual works by him; but he had never been fully appreciated as the interesting character which in reality he was, nor had there been a proper evaluation of the important place he holds in the development of Renaissance painting. More and more we realize that a thorough knowledge of these complex personalities of the late Quattrocento is essential for our understanding of the evolution which led from the early heroes of the Renaissance to those of the *aetas aurea*, of the beginning sixteenth century. And perhaps no harm has been done by the almost

¹The other being Alfred Scharff, *Filippino Lippi*, Vienna, A. Schroll, 1935.

simultaneous attack on the problem of Filippino Lippi by two different authors with slightly different outlooks. Miss Neilson tries to go somewhat deeper than Dr. Scharff had done. She did not have to worry too much about an infinite mass of details and consequently could concentrate on larger issues. She dispenses with oeuvre catalogues and other such necessary groundwork. So her book is very readable indeed, though much less suited for occasional quick consultation than Dr. Scharff's monograph. A critical analysis and evaluation of the master's art is her main aim. She emphasizes strongly the most interesting feature of Filippino's style, i. e., the anticipation of elements of the later Renaissance and even of the Baroque. She tries to follow up his relationship with contemporaries, for instance, Piero di Cosimo, Leonardo da Vinci, Botticelli, and with his pupils, notably Raffaelino del Garbo. Miss Neilson gives a lively and appreciative picture of this artist's life and activity as seen against the background of the past, of his entourage, of the impending future.

Unfortunately Filippino Lippi is one of those artists about whom we know too much or too little: too much to reconstruct his development only on quite general lines, too little to follow it step by step with absolute certainty. Though Miss Neilson, when confronted with the many difficult problems regarding Filippino's chronology, weighs the evidence carefully and argues her cases cautiously, I am afraid she has not always been able to say the last word. And I think she sometimes shows lack of caution in her psychological interpretations of the master's character, for instance, in the strange case of the Strozzi frescoes, the work on which seems to have protracted itself over decades. Had we not better reserve our judgment until we know what was really going on there and what reasons there were for the delay? There is still uncertainty in regard to attributions. Miss Neilson differs here in essential points from Dr. Schraff. One remains slightly bewildered by such things as the reappearance of Amico di Sandro, for instance, and one would like to see the whole case tried again. Disappointing is a certain indifference towards iconography. Filippino offers some delightful problems in this regard, such as the Centaur in Oxford, the ceiling of the Strozzi chapel, the so-called "Worship of the Golden Calf" in the Samuelson Collection, which, alas, remain unsolved. Once in a while we are puzzled by a lack of understanding of certain characteristic detail. So, for instance, when Mona Selvaggia Strozzi is called in a document "tutrice de' pupilli," the expression does not refer to an "activity" of the lady, but it means that she is acting in this instance as guardian in behalf of her children. The epitaph quoted by Vasari in his first edition and omitted for the sake of truth in the second one, is of course one of the many pious frauds of this kind perpetrated by the writer in the name of literary elegance. The term "arabesque" should never be employed for Filippino's ornament, which is of classic origin, and which deserves rather to be quoted among the earliest of "grottesque" ornament.

We must be grateful to the author for a better explanation than we have ever had before of Filippino Lippi as a most important historical phenomenon. However, it must be said that further study of the artist might still be rewarding. There are so many questions which come to the reader's mind. Is it, for instance, justifiable that the name of Ghirlandaio should occur so seldom in these pages? Not that I would suggest any closer connections between him and Filippino, but without him the whole period is scarcely understandable. The whole book suggests one question: should we continue to write monographs? Or if we do, should they not be more than a record of the adventures of a single mind? Should they not rather be monographs of whole periods? History is not made by isolated personalities; it is rather a complicated weave imagined by an unfathomable craftsman, with warp and woof and composed of thousands of threads.

— ULRICH MIDDELDORF





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